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RECORDS ARE MADE to be broken. Charles Lindbergh's heart-stirring non-stop flight of 3,610 miles across the Atlantic has been bettered by the plane Columbia, piloted by Clarence Chamberlin, with its owner, Charles Levine, as passenger, in a long-distance flying record of approximately 3,900 miles. The passengers of the liner Mauretania, bound for New York, were fortunate enough to cheer the Columbia as she leisurely circled the ship on her way to Germany, and to signal the transport Memphis, carrying their hero, Lindbergh, back to his native land. Thus trans-Atlantic flying seems less a feat of sheer daring and luck than it did a week ago when Lindbergh alone had accomplished it. The Columbia will be welcomed in Germany with almost as much enthusiasm as Lindbergh received in Paris; our European neighbors will be generous to American aviation and to the courage and skill of American aviators. Mr. Levine will be rightly congratulated as the first "air passenger" to be carried across the Atlantic Ocean. The truth is that we have much to learn about aviation and that courage is not a national virtue. Nor have we made more than a beginning in the direction of crossing the Atlantic by air. With the splendid results achieved by the three men who have made the non-stop flight from New York we cannot be content, nor will we be. The grand gesture has been made successfully. Science, fortitude, and good fortune made it possible. It will be necessary now to consider the situation with less dependence on the two latter qualities, and with an eye to the transportation of regular passengers and cargo.

LINDBERGH HIMSELF is coming home as the guest of the United States navy. But the best part of his achievement is that it was a purely civilian undertaking. Though he ranks as a captain in the Missouri National Guard, he flew not in uniform but in the clothes of the air pilot he had been, and he stuck to his civilian clothes in Paris and London. This befitted the son of the man who denounced the World War as set forth elsewhere in this issue; it certainly was in keeping with the American spirit. Yet already plans are made to exploit the hero for military purposes. Army, navy, and marine-corps contingents are to escort him from the station in Washington to the Washington Monument; the Governor of Missouri is to make him a colonel, and some of the militarists are already citing his deed, not as a wonderfully fortunate exploit which has brought America nearer to the English and the French than at any time since the armistice but as proving that now we are open to attack from Europe and therefore must at once vote many millions more for fliers and airplanes. None of these things can hide the fact that the overwhelming and unprecedented ovation which Captain Lindbergh will receive while these lines are being read will far exceed that given to any general or admiral, American or foreign, or any king or Allied statesman, and this was the case also with Gertrude Ederle.

NEWS OF THE FLOOD has already been relegated to the fifth or sixth or even tenth page of the newspapers. In the first place, we have had spectacular flights to think about these last few weeks; in the second place, people can stand only so much calamity. After a while it begins to pall and finally it has no meaning whatever. Take the Father of Waters off the front pages, therefore; he has had enough publicity for one season. In certain parts of the country, however, he is still very much on the front page: in Illinois, in Missouri, in Tennessee, in Arkansas, and above all, in Mississippi and Louisiana. Here the waters have gone down a foot, there they are still rising; here the levees are still holding, there they have widened to let the river through. And by now more than half a million persons are homeless, to say nothing of hundreds of thousands of animals, domestic and wild, floating dead upon the water. It means little to say that this is the greatest single catastrophe recorded in America; more appealing, somehow, are the accounts that tell of one poor dog struggling in the water, or a baby pig desperately afloat on a raft, or a rowboat making a spectacular rescue from a third-story window. And even the most specific and dreadful accounts of what is taking place in the flooded regions fail to bring in as much money as is needed for relief. The Red Cross is crying for more millions; it is evident that vast sums will be required to rehabilitate the persons who have lost everything. If ever any situation required government instead of private assistance, this situation does. Yet President Coolidge still refuses to call Congress in special session, and Speaker Longworth talks of aid when Congress meets—in December.

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PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S Memorial Day address would have seemed unreal if Sinclair Lewis had put it into the mouth of George F. Babbitt. Sentences in it indicated a talent for smug self-assuredness which seems fictional and amounts to genius when indulged in by an office-seeking American politician. This nation, which began as a strip along the Atlantic coast and won the Southwest by one of the sheerest wars of aggression in history, has, he said, in its entire record, shown "no craving for power, no greed for territory"! And this President, who a few weeks before had told the Filipinos that independence was a dangerous illusion, whose personal agent had just warned the Nicaraguan Liberals that United States marines would take their arms from them if they did not lay them down "voluntarily," solemnly stood up and declared that "we have robbed no people of their independence; we have laid on no country the hand of oppression"—and no one jeered or even smiled. "We want our relationship with other nations based not on a meeting of bayonets but on a meeting of minds," he added. Admirable sentiment! Three days later another regiment of marines was ordered from Manila to Shanghai, and 4,000 Americans in uniform moved north in China to be on hand when the Nationalists reach Peking.

WHAT IS A NEWS AGENCY'S JOB? Is it to report news impartially or to help the government of its country to carry out its policies? European governments maintain semi-official agencies, often subsidized, which are mere mouthpieces for their governments—Wolff in Germany, Havas in France, Stefani in Italy, Reuter's in Great Britain, and others. These agencies, formerly known as "official" agencies, banded together and took the name of "Allied News Agencies" at the press-association conference called by the League of Nations at Geneva. Recently they met at Warsaw, and the Polish Foreign Minister, M. Zaleski, defined their role, without protest, as follows:

> The news agencies which you direct are charged with the task of communicating to the public the intentions of your governments. You are, therefore, to a certain extent, organs which supplement the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, which, without your efficacious aid, would be deaf instruments devoid of resonance and echo.

Significantly, the Associated Press of the United States of America joined the twenty-four European agencies at this meeting. And its recent action in broadcasting irresponsible State Department propaganda against Mexico, without indicating the source of its misinformation, seemed to indicate that it accepted M. Zaleski's definition of its role. More power, then, to agencies which conceive their task as the dissemination of truth impartially, rather than to supplement anyone's propaganda.

THE FRENCH HAVE VERVE—and common sense. When the British anti-Russian hysteria cast its ripples upon the shores of France, French tories began to howl that Marcel Cachin and several other Communists condemned months ago should begin to serve their terms in jail. The Government, it seems, had sensibly neglected to apply sentences which might have sent up an inconvenient aroma of martyrdom. But the Communists howled as loudly that Léon Daudet, royalist, also had a prison term unserved. The Poincaré Government, with impulsive impartiality, announced that it would send both to prison—and the howls of protest were drowned in a flood of laughter. The thought of Daudet and Cachin as fellow-martyrs in adjacent cells was too amusing. Where else can such things happen? Where else, indeed, is the art of life so instinctive as in the capital where, when the Academy barred "midinette" from its classic dictionaries, the midinettes paraded, protested, burned the Immortals in effigy, until Marshal Joffre, one of them, stepped forth to proclaim his innocence. He at least had voted for the precious word. We do not, indeed, pretend that our Pershings and Woods are scholars; but if we did, could any one imagine "Black Jack" protesting to a riotous crowd of American flappers his own loyalty to slang?

A GOVERNMENT ON THE RAMPAGE is what our International Relations Section documents show this week. The Government of Great Britain, disregarding decency, propriety, and law itself; the officials of Great Britain's Government giving themselves the lie, reversing the statements made in supposedly good faith to a neighbor government. The documents gathered by the Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee, extracts from which we print, show that the British government raid on the Russian Trade Delegation offices was made in spite of provisions in the British-Russian Trade Agreement which gave members of the Trade Delegation diplomatic immunity from search and seizure; it was conducted by policemen who refused to show their warrant until an hour after the search was begun, and then only in response to vigorous protest by Russian officials; it was carried through in the most high-handed manner, with no receipts given for property seized, no opportunity for Soviet officials to be present while documents were being removed, and with actual violence—two of the clerks in the cipher room being assaulted by the police. Of course, in emergencies between governments treaties are traditionally scraps of paper—denials to the contrary notwithstanding; of course, when premises are being searched by policemen gentle methods are not the rule. But considering the high moral tone adopted toward the Soviet Government by other nations, not excepting Great Britain, it might be thought a breach of policy to proceed—whatever the provocation—in just this rough-and-tumble manner.

COMMUNISM AT COLORADO'S School of Mines was the horrendous charge recently investigated by the faculty of that institution. Let us at once say that the charge was discovered to be unwarranted; the Colorado School of Mines is not tinged with red except in combination with white and blue. A young man named Frank I. Olmstead, secretary of the School of Mines Christian Association, was accused by representatives of the American Legion of being an "adherent of the Soviet form of government of Russia." It was also said of Mr. Olmstead that he was a disbeliever in military training, that he was "active in preaching pacifism," and was "otherwise talking and conducting himself in our opinion inimical to good government." These serious charges were quite properly investigated, and it is pleasant to record how pointedly the representatives of the American Legion were requested to mind their own business and betake themselves elsewhere. Mr. Olmstead, it was revealed, had a courageous and honorable war record but had recently come to be opposed to military training, although, apparently, refraining from attempting to make converts to his opinion. Otherwise his "patriotism" was beyond question—he was so far from being inclined toward the Soviet regime as to have received the military

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medal of St. George from the White Russian Government for bravery in action against the Soviet forces. In other words, this was a tempest in a very small teapot. It is typical, however, of the activities of certain Legion branches. The brave and honest action of the college authorities in combating and refuting Legion charges is, unfortunately, not so typical.

WHY WAS THE PLAY "SPREAD EAGLE" barred from the movies? Our readers will remember that in our issue of June 1 we raised this question and stated that Will Hays's office had refused to tell us why. Miss Detzer, the secretary of the Women's International League, throws some light upon this, by calling our attention to the fact that Will H. Hays is a lieutenant colonel in the Adjutant General's Department Reserve, and Jesse Louis Lasky, the picture magnate, a major in the Signal Corps Reserve. She also sends us a clipping from a Los Angeles paper, which, after reciting these facts, adds:

> These movie magnates and several others representing leading producing companies have been sworn in with army titles. They are officers of the Signal Corps motion-picture advisory council, United States army. The interest of the average fan lies in the fact that the screens are going to show many more military pictures. The film industry has promised its aid to the army, which in turn will aid in the making of pictures. The alliance just effected promises that help of commanders in the making of features with military flavor. On its part, the movie men promise to make more martial subjects as propaganda for the war branch of the government. Cecil de Mille, Richard Rowland, H. R. Cochrane, Hal Roach, Albert Warner are some of the parties to the contract to acquaint the public with the army's activities and combat pacifist doctrines, which are the avowed purposes of the alliance.

We do not doubt that this does throw some light on Colonel Hays's attitude toward "Spread Eagle." As the case of Captain Paxton Hibben showed, the War Department undertakes to control or supervise the opinions of reserve officers. If it can annex the leaders of the motion-picture industry to its propaganda machine by issuing reserve commissions to them, what could be more delightful? The producer, or the "Czar," becomes major or colonel, and the War Department has its grip on another opinion-making force.

AMONG THE MANY REQUESTS that come to us for approval of one campaign for funds or another we cannot decline to call attention to the appeal of the School of Medicine of Howard University in Washington, D. C., for an endowment fund of $500,000, toward which the General Education Board has promised half if the remainder can be raised by the end of this year. This medical school is of enormous value to the colored race. It comprises three colleges, which have graduated to date 1,318 physicians, 703 dentists, and 420 pharmacists. It has been rated as being in Class A by the American Medical Association, but it will not be able to continue in that category unless it can show an income of $25,000 a year, in addition to the amount received from students' fees. While the university as a whole receives a generous annual appropriation from Congress, only a very small amount, given for supplies and equipment, goes to the Medical School. It is of vital importance that the colored race has only a few medical schools, while the need for educated and competent physicians is overwhelmingly great. All too often these people are exploited by incompetent Negroes or unscrupulous white doctors. The appeal of Howard is one which should meet the readiest response, and we are glad to note that Senator Couzens of Michigan has contributed $5,000.

THE LATE MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE deserves lasting fame as one of the few Englishmen in high office who kept their sanity during the World War. In the middle of it, in 1916, he startled his countrymen by asking for a simple, plain statement of what the Allies were really fighting for. The ensuing uproar was tremendous, and if he had not had an inherited title and been a Cabinet minister, Heaven knows what might have befallen him. His associates in the Cabinet deemed it a crime that anyone should inquire just why they were sacrificing a million of their countrymen. Mr. Wilson had not yet formulated the Fourteen Points; the Allies had not yet pretended to accept them; the disgraceful secret treaties had not yet been published. Had Lord Lansdowne's Cabinet associates answered his request that their war aims be stated, in order to see if the Germans would not be moved to a peace by negotiation, they would have had to reveal their sordid bargains. So Lord Lansdowne was denounced and charged with aiding the enemy, and the millions of Englishmen in arms had to go on fighting and dying without the slightest idea of what was going on behind the scenes or what it was really all about. But for asking that simple rational question Lord Lansdowne deserves to rest in Westminster Abbey, to which his other long and able but conventional services hardly entitle him.

A GALLANT SPIRIT passed from us when William M. Fincke died. The public, and especially the labor movement, knew him as the man who, together with his wife, first made Brookwood Labor College possible, and then, leaving it in competent hands, started a second venture, primarily for the children of the workers, on his own farm in Pawling, New York. His illness has been a terrible handicap to an experiment which deserves success not so much as a monument to him as for the sake of the splendid idea which Manumit School embodies. These educational ventures were only the last part of a life work crowded with various interests. After making a name for himself as man and athlete at Hill School and Yale University, Mr. Fincke went to work as a mining engineer in the coal-fields. He left that business to study for the ministry. A forthright pacifist sermon shortly after we entered the World War lost him his pulpit in the Greenwich Presbyterian Church in New York, but, characteristically, while the close vote was going against him the pastor was on his way to Europe as a stretcher-bearer in a hospital ambulance corps. After the war, at various times, Mr. Fincke served at the Labor Temple in New York City and for a year at the Community Church at White Plains. Ultimately, his own loyalty to truth as he saw it compelled him to leave the church, and he gave himself with full devotion to educational work. But he never lost sympathy with any good cause or any aspect of the struggle for social justice. In 1919, during the steel strike, he represented the American Civil Liberties Union in a free-speech fight at Duquesne, Pennsylvania, and the experience cost him a short stay in jail. But greater than anything that Mr. Fincke did was what he was. And nothing in his career was finer than his bearing while he waited the inevitable end of a terrible chronic illness.

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Behind the Red Walls of Peking

SUMMER comes, and the lotus blooms in the dank pools outside the mighty red walls of Peking, and the flies swarm through the unscreened city. It is the time of year when the foreign women and children disappear to the seashore or to summer homes built in what were once cool Buddhist temples in the Western Hills. This year a new restlessness is added; the rumble of civil war draws near. And to foreign ears civil war has a new grim meaning; it is no longer simply a struggle between rival generals, but part of a national revolution which strikes at the privileged position of the foreign communities.

Yet the correspondents still gather at the Peking Club bar each noon to swap yarns, as they do far to the South in the Hankow Club and in Shanghai at the bars of the American Club and of the Shanghai Club, its British rival, which boasts itself the proud possessor of the longest bar in the world. And out of the gossip at those bars, and occasional friendly chats with race-conscious officials, grows the picture of China reflected in the news cables sent to America.

Japan has landed 2,000 troops at Tsingtao in Shantung —the port the Germans took from China as compensation for the death of two German missionaries in an inland village, which Japan took from Germany in the early days of the World War, which Japan returned to China after the great boycott movement of 1918-1921 had ruined her China trade. Great Britain still has her overgrown "defense force" at Shanghai—more than one defender in uniform for every foreign civilian in the city; but her warships have begun to move North, to be ahead of the Nationalists. And the United States has already sent its shiploads of excited marines to Tientsin, where, presumably, they will disembark to help guard the British Concession—for we have no concession of our own there.

The little foreign communities have an absurdly exaggerated sense of their own importance—but to a tragic extent they carry the world with them. Shanghai worked itself into a magnificent fury, with curfews, and sandbags, and barbed wire, largely to convince the outside world that more foreign troops were needed in China—and then gave the game away by going ahead with its race meetings, which drew larger crowds than any political meeting. And when the races were abandoned, it was quite frankly explained —locally—that "while there might appear to be no more reason in the actual circumstances of Shanghai why races should not take place than games of football, *the effect abroad would be deplorable.*" The home countries, in other words, might realize that Shanghai's hysteria was hysteria, and that the assemblage of these vast armadas of foreign warships actually increased rather than lessened the danger to foreigners in China! The same pathetic myopia appeared in the dispatches from Hankow. British and American business men, it was stated, were staying on despite consular advice, because they feared that otherwise they would lose all their trade to the Germans. And why were the Germans so favored? Simply because they had no frowning warships on the scene, and had renounced the "protection" of the unequal treaties.

Most of our news is of what happens in these foreign communities—although we do not hear all of that. The Shanghai correspondents do not bother to cable that British Tommies stand guard at new brothels, especially established, with white Russian girls on sale, for the benefit of the rest less defense forces; they tell us only that, the British military forces having taken three-year leases on their quarters and the new crop of defenders having doubled the number of foreign buyers in the city, business is good. From Peking we hear only the foreign side of the story. When Mr. Randall Gould, representing the United Press in Peking, ventured to dig out news for himself, and to cable facts unpalatable to the bumptious bureaucrats in the American Legation, he was promptly barred from the press conferences in the American Chancellery. Americans representing Chinese news agencies are also barred from these sessions, although the representative of Reuter's, the semi-official British agency, is admitted to the inner confidences. And today, when the Chinese masses of Peking are eagerly waiting for news of more Nationalist victories, praying for the withdrawal of Chang Tso-lin's Manchurians and the coming of the Nationalists, we hear only of the fears of the foreigners. In the interval between withdrawal and arrival, in the last despair of defeat or the first flush of victory, incidents may occur—foreign homes may be looted, or foreigners attacked. Of the larger meaning of this mighty awakening of a continental people we hear next to nothing.

Despite all the eager prophecies of Nationalist defeat and disruption the tide of Chinese Nationalism, as *The Nation* has consistently predicted, rolls on. The Hankow regime seems to have reorganized itself despite the presence of foreign warships; it has reached at least a temporary working agreement with Chiang Kai-shek, the "moderate" leader; Feng Yu-hsiang, the "Christian general," has effected a comeback in the Northwest; the result is that the Northern "anti-Communist" armies are sweeping back in retreat toward Peking. In China, where wars are largely wars of propaganda and prestige, a retreat once begun is hard to stem. There will be more squabbles and rivalries within the Kuomintang, of course; but no power, foreign or Chinese, can prevail against the living force of Nationalism in China.

Into the nebula of swirling aspirations and crystallizing hopes that is China today is thrust, unfortunately for the world, an alien conflict. It is not alone the effort of the West to hold what it has taken in China; there is also the conflict of Russia and Britain, with all its rich cargo of meanings. Britain, with her empire on which the sun never sets at stake, dominated today by a group of Die-hards who stop at nothing—who raid the Russian Trade offices like movie heroes, who sponsor legislation which aims to kill trade-unionism at home, who send their bullying warships to Egypt when the Egyptians suggest that they would like to have Egyptian officers in their own army—is of course appalled at the prospect of any Asiatic nation rising to self-control. If Chinese Nationalism is successful, what excuse is left for the historic British Empire? Russia, naturally, accepts the challenge gladly, and will do all in her power to make Chinese Nationalism a success. And Japan, an Asiatic nation herself, stands hesitatingly on the sidelines.

It is a dramatic spectacle, when one gets away from the club bars. Something real is at stake. The people huddled behind the fortified walls of Peking's Legation Quarter have a right to be restless.

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Those Neutral Rights

AN exchange of notes between Great Britain and the United States, on May 19, provided for the settlement, among others, of the claims of American citizens arising out of the violation by British Orders in Council of American neutral rights in the period 1914-1917. These measures, denounced by Secretary Lansing as "illegal and indefensible," did immeasurable injury to neutrals and to international law. The settlement just effected removes a cause of friction, but it does nothing to settle the essential principles involved.

By its war measures from 1914 to 1917 the British Government, step by step, destroyed the right of neutrals to trade in non-military commodities, not only with the Central Powers, as was their long-established right, but also with the neutrals of Europe. Trade was permitted only with Britain and her Allies. A similar attempt in 1793 had been frustrated by Jefferson's refusal to acquiesce; in 1917 a more pliant United States yielded, and thus became unneutral, to its permanent disadvantage. In 1917 a powerful British propaganda undertook to show a gullible world that British violations of law were in the highest interests of morality, whereas German violations indicated a barbaric hostility to civilization.

Millions of dollars of American cargoes and ships were either confiscated or detained under Orders in Council which virtually wiped out the neutral privilege of trading with continental Europe. To make foodstuffs contraband, the distinction between combatants and non-combatants and between neutral and enemy destination had to be destroyed. A pliant prize court enforced the Orders in Council as "logical" extensions of the "rights" of belligerents. The German prize courts were less hypocritical, calling the German measures "political" rather than "legal." The measures of both belligerents were dictated by military expediency, regardless of law. In the long run, the British violations are likely to prove more destructive to mankind.

When the United States, in April, 1917, after tolerating the British violations while vigorously contesting the German, entered the war, it was announced that the German violations were of such a character that their settlement brooked no delay, whereas the British violations, involving injuries to property, would be settled at the end of the war "to make the world safe for democracy." For nine years virtually nothing was done to make good the promised settlement of these claims against Great Britain. It was only after Senator Borah introduced a resolution demanding their settlement that the Department of State ceased deprecating the claims and awoke to mild action, and in the settlement just announced the spirit of altruistic sacrifice of American to British interests is a prominent feature. Furthermore, by making the settlement an "executive agreement" the treaty-making power is evaded.

The agreement undertakes to settle, for about one and one-half million dollars, the claims of American citizens arising out of illegal confiscations and detentions, amounting to many millions of dollars. The million and a half is obtained by the gracious consent of the British Government to waive the collection from us of sums due for war supplies furnished our forces in Europe.

The sacrifice of the claimants is evident in the fact that no claim will be paid unless the claimants have gone into the British prize courts. This will kill off many meritorious claims. When binding legislation, like the Orders in Council, is responsible for the injury, it is useless to ask a British court to set the legislation aside. The requirement of going into the British courts to test the Orders in Council, already many times sustained by them, imposes on the American claimants a harsh and unnecessary condition calculated to discourage the presentation of claims.

When this settlement is compared with what we imposed on the Germans the contrast is startling. Germany must pay in full, with interest, all damage sustained during the war by American citizens, regardless of source or of international law. Even post-war depreciation of the mark was often included. Claims thus leaped up to $180,000,000, and, with the tacit support of the Department of State, we have threatened further to violate international law by confiscating German private property to pay this sum.

The present surrender is a fitting climax to the arbitrariness of 1917. In 1793 we were able to defend neutral rights without going to war; in 1917 we were unable to defend them, and went to war anyway—an interesting commentary on the contrast in diplomatic skill. In the distribution of the sum now available, and in the preparation of legal opinions, the United States can do something to retrieve the sacrifice of neutral rights which its recent diplomacy has entailed. The new theory, centering about the League of Nations, that every war must be a world war and that neutrality is today impossible, is one of the dangerous illusions to which war psychology gave birth. The protection of law is more necessary against the strong than against the weak, and the future, like the past, is likely to find more advantage in strengthening the rights of neutrals than in buttressing the interest and claims of belligerents.

Who Invented the Steamboat?

"THE federal and State governments today formally honored John Fitch, inventor of the steamboat," says an Associated Press dispatch from Bardstown, Kentucky, dated May 25, describing the unveiling of a monument at that place. In his dedicating address Governor Fields of Kentucky said that only one thing remained to be done, "that is to see that history is corrected and that textbooks be made to teach that Fitch, rather than Fulton, be credited with this wonderful invention."

This passion for correcting history is laudable, but it might be well for someone first to read enough of the record to find out what he is doing. One hesitates to have his history corrected *ex cathedra* by a State whose legislature recently came within one vote of rewriting the history of the world by excluding the doctrine of evolution from its public schools. Nobody who has read anything on the subject holds that Fulton produced the first steamboat. On the other hand, neither did Fitch. There had been experiments with steam navigation a century before either of them; like most complicated machines, the steamboat was the product of many men laboring through successive decades, and exact apportionment of honor leads one into a maze of partisan, doubtful, and contradictory testimony. It is true that Fitch's first steamboat, launched in 1787, was twenty years ahead of Fulton's Clermont, but it is also a fact that Denis Papin, in France, was studying the application of steam to vessels before the close of the seventeenth century, and in

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1707 asked for patent protection on a model tried on the Seine. In England Jonathan Hulls took out a patent for a stern-wheel steamboat in 1736. The steamboat, like the airplane, languished many years for want of an adequate engine. Papin and Hulls struggled with primitive contrivances, but after James Watt had designed a practical engine for vessel propulsion an epoch of rapid progress succeeded.

William Henry, a well-to-do resident of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, visited England in 1760 and saw a Watt engine. Upon returning to this country he made a steam engine of his own, installed it in a boat fitted with paddle-wheels, and launched the vessel in the Conestoga River. The operation was successful but the patient died; that is, Henry's theory was sound but his boat sank. Undiscouraged, he went on to other experiments, and, according to Fred Erving Dayton's "Steamboat Days," inspired both Fitch and Fulton, who were his proteges. Fitch was a poor man, dogged all his days by misfortune and an inability to interest men of means in his ideas. He worked contemporaneously with James Rumsey, and at about the same time they tried out their first steamboats in different places. Rumsey's method of propulsion was a steam pump which forced a stream of water aft and thus thrust the vessel forward. He drove a boat by this means at four miles an hour on the Potomac River, but his system of propulsion failed to attract permanent interest. Fitch relied upon a kind of paddle wheel. His first vessel, completed in 1787, turned out to have many defects, although it moved at a rate of three or four miles an hour. His second steamboat was an improvement, and his third, in 1790, made seven miles an hour, carrying passengers on the Delaware River between Philadelphia and Trenton. But the venture was not commercially successful and Fitch went to France to seek fresh capital. He failed to find it and, returning to this country, eventually settled in Kentucky, where he died in Bardstown in 1798, supposedly by his own hand.

Probably Fulton did not invent anything of consequence that went into the Clermont. The most important item, the engine, was imported from Boulton and Watt in England. But Fulton had studied the problems of the steamboat for many years in America and Europe before he built the Clermont and he brought a high degree of technical knowledge and skill to his task. The result was a vessel that traveled from New York City to Albany, about 150 miles, on its first trip, and proved that the steamboat as a commercial possibility had arrived.

John Fitch is entitled to a generous share of credit for the development of the steamboat, but not for as much as Governor Fields suggests. It is hard to see, also, what claim Kentucky has to Fitch, or to any reflected glory from his work. Fitch was born in Connecticut and his experiments with steamboats were on the Delaware River under grants from Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Kentucky's only connection with the inventor seems to have been to drive him to suicide in his old age. Perhaps, too, Governor Fields would have modified his oratory at Bardstown had he known that in 1839 Kentucky voted a commemorative medal to the son of James Rumsey as a tribute to the latter for "giving the world the benefit of the steamboat." Thus the State over which Governor Fields presides is now on record as having honored two different men for a single achievement. Perhaps that is why somebody thought to provide an extra niche by getting rid of Charles Darwin.

The "N. E. D."

THE current year is expected to see the appearance of the last volume of the "New English Dictionary." Probably most people will not remember 1927 chiefly for that, but it is not likely that any of its other achievements will more deserve to be remembered. In the course of preparing this gigantic work every extant book printed in English, as well as whole libraries of later books, has been read; every meaning of every word has not only been defined but supplied with one or more quotations illustrating its use in that sense; and scholars from nearly every country of Europe, as well as from the United States, have contributed. No similar work—not even the great German lexicon of the Brothers Grimm—is comparable to it in magnitude, accuracy, or completeness.

Not only no single man but no single generation of men could complete a dictionary upon so stupendous a scale, and it has, indeed, used up the lives of several editors-in-chief. Hartley Coleridge, the first, died in 1861, shortly after assuming the task. It was then handed on to F. J. Furnival, founder of the New Shakespeare Society, and Walter Skeat, most famous of Chaucer editors, who labored on it until their deaths. Though by 1878 some two million quotations had been gathered, the work languished in the absence of anyone with the requisite industry and scholarship until James A. H. Murray, a schoolmaster with a genius for lexicography, was appointed editor in 1879. He had, of course, a corps of assistants, and there were many voluntary contributors, but it is to his furious industry, continued unremittingly until his death at nearly eighty, that the work is chiefly due. He had hoped that he might live to see it complete, and three years before he died in 1915 he was working seventeen hours a day, but the task was too vast to be accomplished by even such intemperate labor, and since his time three men, Dr. Bradley, Professor Craigie, and Mr. C. T. Onions, have been chiefly responsible for bringing it to a conclusion.

Here one may find twenty-one closely printed columns devoted to the single word "point," and fifty-four meanings of "put," each provided, as usual, with a quotation to illustrate its first occurrence in print and usually with at least one other from a more recent century. In all, over 400,000 separate words are defined and more than 1,750,000 quotations made. But bulk is no adequate measure of the dictionary's accomplishment or any indication of its meticulous accuracy. It has taken all written English as its province and it is the very reverse of the pedantic—Americanisms are as welcome as Chaucerian English, and the *Lumberman's Gazette* is quoted as gladly as Addison's *Spectator*.

Few would be capable of performing such a task—fewer still would consent to devote their lives to labor so exhausting and so unremunerative. The "New English Dictionary" is one of those magnificent achievements which are only possible when an organization exists capable of drawing to itself during several generations the precise men for the task in hand. Since 1860 it has existed as a challenge, and it is at last complete because, one after another, men have appeared to accept that challenge, in many cases laboring without reward of any kind. It is one of the greatest monuments to the patient persistence of scholarship and one of the most sterling illustrations of that strange piety which only scholars can understand.

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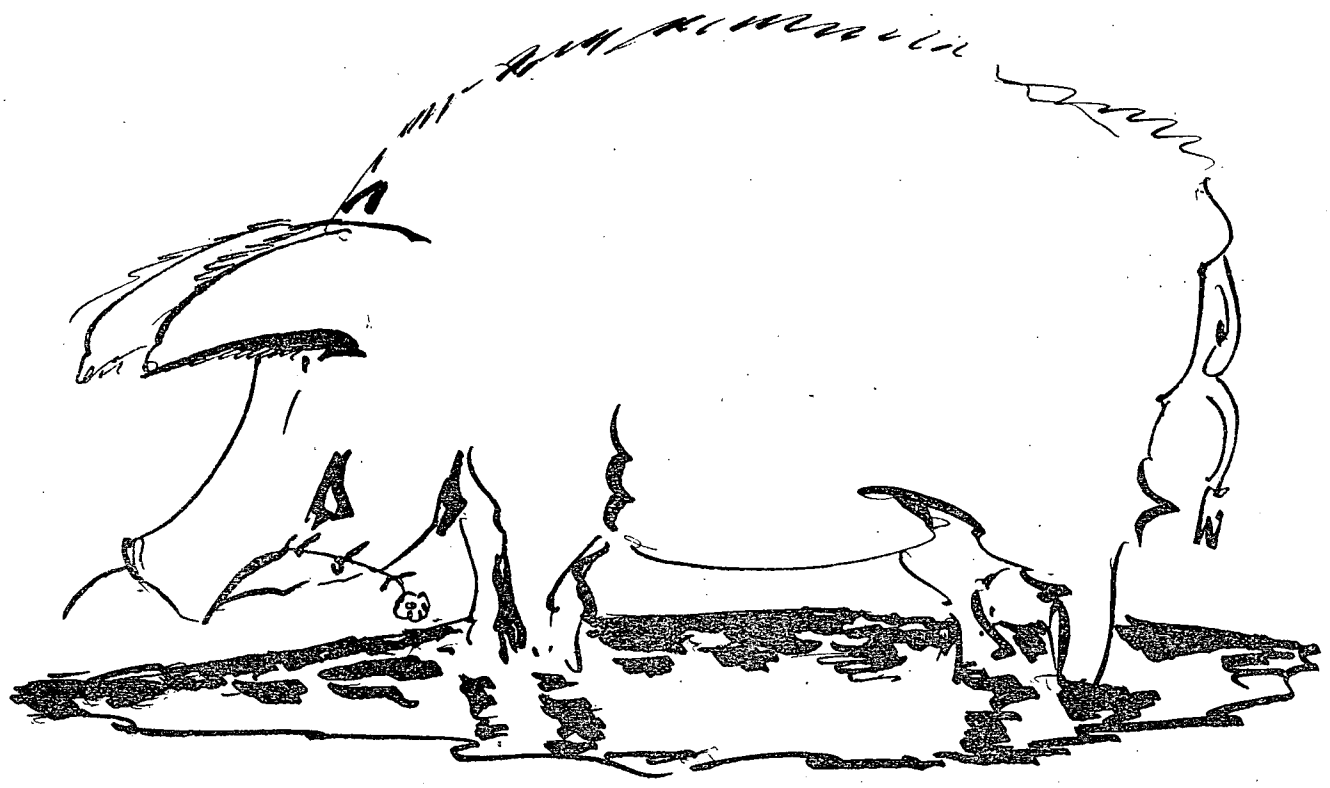

Frank Kelly Adams with apologies to the poor Rog.

The Tabloid

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Lindbergh's "Bolshevik" Father

By MARGARET S. ERNST

SAID the New York *Times* editorially of Charles August Lindbergh, Jr., on May 23, 1927: "This clear-headed, clean-lived, modest but daring son of America who . . . drew the peoples of many nations together in their concentration upon something of their common and supreme admiration"—a sentence which expresses aptly the sentiments of some millions of Americans about their countryman.

Said the New York *Times* editorially of Charles August Lindbergh, Sr., on May 29, 1918, after commenting on the fact that Mr. Lindbergh, then Nonpartisan League candidate for Governor of Minnesota, had been refused a hall in Duluth for a political speech, and after quoting from his book "Why Is Your Country at War": "Such is the gospel which Duluth refused to hear. Such is the platform of this candidate of the Nonpartisan League. More fortunate than many of the managers and orators of that concern, Mr. Lindbergh, so far as we know, is not under indictment for sedition"!

It is not entirely fair to the *Times*, perhaps, so to quote chapter and verse against it in its treatment of the Lindbergh family. It was not the only paper which found the utterances of Lindbergh, Senior, seditious, "Bolshevik," pacifist, unpatriotic. But in both cases it was voicing the opinion of the majority, it was accepting the current hurrah as gospel. And the Lindberghs, both father and son, have distinguished themselves by refusing to do just this thing: the father would not be stampeded by the patriots into blind acceptance of the war, the son would not permit himself to be swept off his feet by temptations of money, movie fame, vaudeville popularity, or the opportunity of being a nine-days' wonder in the tabloid press.

Lindbergh, flying without stir or stop across the 3,000-mile gray plain of the Atlantic—that achievement lifts us all on sure wings, we all take part through type and story in his victory, and in a measure we can even understand how with cool head and perfect mechanical sensitiveness this boy arrived beyond the door of miracle.

The post-phenomena of flight have been harder to understand. How a boy of twenty-five, flying into the uproar of applause and idolatry, kept his head, remained simply an aviator, turned down offers of millions for cheap exploitation seemed a more superhuman victory—until one recalled the "Junior" trailing his name like an heraldic banner. It is from his father that young Charles August got his ballast of decisiveness, courage, untouchable naturalness.

In the New York Public Library are two slender volumes, well-read to judge by the thumb-marks, which tell a part of the story of the Lindbergh character.

"Why Is Your Country at War and What Happens to You After the War, and Related Subjects" is the cumbersome title of the father's volume, published in 1917. When the levees of peace gave way and the World War rushed over the United States, Lindbergh was a Republican member of Congress from Minnesota. He had been in Congress since 1907, with a clear and courageous record all through those ten years, consistently on the side of the Farmer-Labor group, consistently against what he termed the Money Trust and the war-for-profit group.

As early as December, 1915, Lindbergh warned the President: "Speculations and loans in foreign fields are likely to bring us into the war." On July 15, 1916, he spoke of himself as "inspired by the logic, eloquence, and candor of La Follette." "I believe that I am as patriotic as any one," he said. "To be that implies bias in favor of my own country." And then followed the "buts," his pacifist, pro-labor conscience speaking out, though in the minority: "The war-for-profit group has counterfeited patriotism." "There is a fourth group, the profiteers of peace, the patrioteers of war, who busy themselves with the other three groups [farmer, wage-earner, business man], exploiting them." And finally "Peace with universal victory and no defeat is what we must get out of this war; not as a logical result of war, but as a sequence to the absurdity of war."

Lindbergh was attacked for these pacifist proletarian opinions, naturally. And for saying: "We have been dragged into the war by the intrigue of the speculators." In June, 1918, the Chicago *Tribune* staff writer, Arthur M. Evans, wrote of his book: "The reader looks instinctively to see if it bears a German copyright. It doesn't, but it contains many choice morsels of thought that might be gobbled with relish in Potsdam." The *Tribune's* Washington correspondent telegraphed a report of an attack made by Representative Miller in which Lindbergh was declared "because of the attacks which he has made upon the American government, a friend of the Kaiser."

In Congressman Lindbergh's book there is a delightful frontispiece—the two Lindberghs, senior and junior, both very clean and Swedish-looking, the father thoughtfully and courageously sitting for his picture, while young Charles—the world's young Charles now—a little boy of ten or so, seriously and proudly stands beside his dad.

Lindbergh's second book, "The Economic Pinch" (Dorrance, Philadelphia, 1923), was written with a pen dipped in hatred—hatred of the so-called Money Trust and of the profiteers who according to his conviction had kept the United States from becoming a leader among nations. The book seethes with his contempt for those who profiteer at the expense of many. His Congressional record showed him fighting the Esch-Cummins Act, the Federal Reserve Act, and instigating the Money Trust Investigation, and the same economic-political background looms large in his book.

Today, as he was a few years ago, Lindbergh's father would be called Radical, Red, even Bolshevik.

Young Charles is too much a son of his father, we believe, to mind. He will take his victor's crown on his fair head with a smile; he will be decorated by kings and he will chat with princes; he will even come home on a triumphant warship (whose construction his father fought)—unspoiled. It may be that he will be a flier all his life, a doer of deeds; or it may be that after maturity his broad wings may weary of the empty air-lanes, and he may turn, following his father, to a new but not less spectacular flight in the realm of ideas. For only by the flights of those who are far ahead of the majority is progress in human relations achieved. And liberal leaders of courage and intelligence are almost as rare as trans-Atlantic fliers.

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Voting Red in Austria

By ROGER N. BALDWIN

Vienna, May 14

TO see a brisk, cosmopolitan city plastered with signs Vote Red, varied with big posters showing a red man with his arms stretched out toward you, must have jarred the complacent American tourists in Vienna during the election campaign in April. It was unlike any campaign back home. Red signs everywhere—"Vote Social Democratic." Red movies displayed every evening from a high building opposite the Opera. Red meetings; red processions; red handbills; red sky-writing by aeroplane. In New York they would have called out the militia. In Vienna the militia is red, too.

And in Austria the redness of Social Democracy is the brightest Socialist red in Europe. Talk to any Socialist critically of the impotence of the Socialist movement, and he will cite Vienna in rebuttal. He is right. It is different—militant, revolutionary in feeling, practical in achievement. It has left Communism without an appeal. Socialist Vienna is what its enemies call it, "a red island" in the capitalist sea.

The result in terms of election figures in state and cities shows a Socialist gain of three seats in Parliament—two coming from Vienna, where the fight was hardest—and a cut in the government majority to five. An opposition Land Party increased its vote from five to nine, and it is this group that the government must win over for a safe margin of support. The Socialist vote in all Austria is over 40 per cent of the total, and in Vienna over 62 per cent. The increase over four years ago was about 7 per cent, with 10 per cent more necessary for a majority. As the Socialists largely control the industrial district, the fight of the future is for the villages and the peasantry. The Tyrol for the first time showed Socialist gains. The system of proportional representation has tended to help the Socialist ticket, for it wins more seats on "residue" votes than the other parties.

Can Socialism win a majority and form a government? What will it do if it does? What does this bitterest of all campaigns in Austrian history mean? Why is Austria today the one country in Europe freest from repression, and yet in the midst of battle over vital issues? I can answer only from brief observation at political meetings, conversations in the heat of election days with all sides, and my rather labored reading of the press. On all sides I was conscious of an exceptionally courageous, intelligent, and driving organism in the Social Democratic Party, with a freshness and youthful vigor not found elsewhere among European Socialists.

The Social Democratic Party was on the defensive in Vienna. The struggle of the campaign was for the "mastery of Vienna," the stronghold of Socialism, though I did not find anyone rash enough to expect the defeat of a party with an overwhelming majority in the city council. The Christian Socialists who control the national government (being neither Christian nor Socialist) hoped to cut Socialist representation in Parliament and to deprive them of their three-fourths majority in the Vienna council, with legal powers much greater than a mere majority. To do it, they formed a "United List" ticket of the conservative parties. They attacked even the personal lives of Socialist leaders, raised the Bolshevik bogy, and charged extravagance, graft, and corruption in the multitude of welfare activities of the Socialist city government, in the great housing enterprises, and in fiscal administration. The Socialists hit back with charges against the national government. A Finance Minister fled to Cuba. Others were implicated. Mud-slinging to a degree unprecedented in Austrian elections marked the campaign, which was everywhere characterized as "American"! But this had little effect on the result. It was incidental to the real issues on which the campaign was fought. They concerned primarily the Socialist protection of tenants against landlords, the city housing enterprise, and the high taxes in Vienna on the luxuries of the well-to-do. The city finance commissioner, author of these taxes, was the special object of attack, but he emerged from the campaign with increased popularity.

At bottom it was clearly a class struggle, waged to protect the results of the 1918 revolution and to increase working-class power in opposition to the middle class and the more prosperous peasantry which support the present government. In the political meetings this line-up was clear. Working-class enthusiasm and determination marked the Socialist gatherings. The government meetings were much less spirited, labored, heavy—in a word, middle-class. I heard Otto Bauer, the leader of Austrian Socialism, speak, expecting the usual campaign promises, platitudes, vilifications, and claims to achievement. Instead he painted a vivid picture of the thirty-eight-year struggle of Socialism in Austria, analyzed its present position, and made it plain that whatever had been done was only a step on the road they were traveling to complete socialization. No truckling for middle-class votes; no trimming the issues for fear of being too extreme. Social revolution is the object—a peaceful, parliamentary revolution, to be sure, but essentially revolution.

Of course, you can hear Socialists talking about revolution almost anywhere, but there is a different ring to the discussion in Austria. There they push ahead further than any other Socialist Party. The test of their genuineness is the insignificance of the Communist Party. It has not, and never has had, a single member in Parliament or in the Vienna city council. Its vote in Vienna was 1 per cent of the Socialist vote. Its vote in the country was smaller. It has steadily declined since the revolutionary days of working-class ascendancy in 1919 and 1920, before the reaction set in with Allied control, and after all hope of a workers' dictatorship vanished in the defeat of the Hungarian workers, the emergence of Fascism, and the consolidation of capitalism. Communism is a weaker force than in any other country in Europe with free elections, and the reason for it is the character of Socialism. One of the leading Socialists said to me: "Communism lives on the faults and mistakes of Socialism. In Austria we have the fewest."

I do not need to point out the difficulties facing those who talk of legal revolutions. The Austrian Socialists are fully aware of them. Although they do not say so, their conduct indicates that a revolutionary period would not

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find them sticking to outworn parliamentary methods and ideas of legalism. For the present their program is to hold the achievements so far won, to enlist the peasantry in a country over half agricultural, to maintain at least a balance of class forces to prevent interference with working-class activities, and to push the taxing and welfare program in the red island of Vienna.

Already there is enough balance of power in Austria to make repression impossible. There is not and has not been a single political prisoner worth the name since the troubled days of five years ago. Political meetings are held without police or the "red guard" and their canes, so universal at radical meetings in Europe these days. Vienna is a haven of refuge second only to Paris for political refugees from the adjacent dictatorships. When governments protest at the political activities of refugees and the police attempt to deport them, an appeal to the Socialist burgomaster of Vienna usually results in permission to remain on condition of keeping quiet. The press is entirely free. I heard of only one current free-speech case, and that was for alleged blasphemy. There is no Fascism, no militarism, and only sentimental monarchism. The Roman Catholic state church is, of course, still strong as a conservative influence, especially among the city middle classes. But a majority of the new Parliament is now definitely anti-clerical, with what promise of action nobody ventures publicly to guess.

The economic difficulties of a country reduced by the war from a unit of 56,000,000 to 6,500,000 persons, cut off from former markets and supplies, surrounded by hostile tariff barriers and by intensely nationalist states make it clearer as time goes on that union with Germany is the only solution. The majority of the new Parliament is for it The peace treaty is against it. The alternative, an economic federation of the Danubian states, looks increasingly remote The Socialists have been in favor of union with Germany from the days of the revolution, and their stand for that solution, now championed by a large part of the bourgeois parties, contributes to their strength. It is generally recognized, too, that they saved the republic in its days of greatest danger both from monarchists and Communists.

All this sounds perhaps over-optimistic for the future But today Austria stands out as the one country where Socialism, both in its work in Vienna and in its opposition in the national government, is a fighting force. The Socialist leaders display traits common to politicians the world over Some of the well-known vote-getting tricks of Tammany Hall are not unknown among them. But on the whole they are a devoted and determined crowd.

Much might be said of the impossibility of Socialism even with a majority, achieving substantial results in raising the amazingly low wages of Austrian industry, in attacking the stubborn problem of unemployment, in lowering high prices, in extending trade. These are the common problems of all Central Europe today. No detached solution is possible. But Socialism as it works in Austria represents a force leading to solutions that the capitalist system cannot and will not undertake—as the Economic Conference at Geneva makes abundantly clear. In Austria "Voting Red" means business—the workers' business.

What Will Become of the Farmer?

By REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

THE emergency faced by our American agriculture is one which calls for emergency remedies. It is perhaps true that an abolition of tariffs which favor our manufacturing group and operate disadvantageously to farmers would correct the worst artificial handicaps they suffer. So much may be taken for granted since it is a matter by now of almost universal recognition among economists. Failing such a remedy some artificial price-raising of agricultural products would seem only just, and disquisitions on the hardships it might impose on certain persons appear irrelevant. For this reason the continuance of political activity in this direction, even after the first failures of the Farm Bloc, were to have been expected. There were, for instance, several bills offered in Congress during the winter of 1925-1926 which were substantially similar to the McNary-Haugen bill. None of them came nearer to passage than the original measure. But discussion of the issue became so intelligent and the claims of the farmers seemed so just that a considerable public sentiment was aroused in their favor. Some measure of a price-fixing sort seemed much more likely to pass in the near future than at any time in the past.

In the second session of the Sixty-ninth Congress, therefore, it was not surprising to find the Farm Bloc in such an improved position that they succeeded in passing a revised McNary-Haugen bill which, though it displayed some changes from the original act, sought the same ends in much the same way. It declared the policy of Congress to be that of promoting "the orderly marketing" of basic agricultural commodities. To do this it would provide for the "control and disposition of surpluses." A Federal Farm Board was to be set up to administer the act, chosen by the President from among farmer-nominated candidates. The members of the board would have the duty of keeping advised "from any available sources of crop prices, prospects, supply, and demand, at home and abroad, with especial attention to the existence . . . of a surplus of any agricultural commodity or any of its food products."

The enumeration of these "basic agricultural products" included only cotton, wheat, corn, rice, tobacco, and swine What is notable about such a list is, of course, its restriction. Hay, beef products, dairy products, potatoes, apples and other fruits, poultry products, all "vegetables," sugar, and other important crops are omitted for no observable reason save a political one, of course. Certainly none of them is permanently in a more favorable position than wheat. Some of them, as apples and milk, are perhaps in a worse one. Extension of the list, however, would under the act require further Congressional action.

So far, then, as these six products are concerned the Farm Board would have to "order" their marketing, a tactful way of saying that it would expect to raise their prices by restricting their supplies. Here there is seen a feature of this legislative attempt which would surely strike a foreigner as curious. He would at once assume, when he had

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grasped the idea that farmers are being discriminated against and that a higher price for their goods was wanted, that the mode of procedure would be either to restrict production, thus giving a monopoly advantage in the market, or to give them some sort of a subsidy obtained by taxing more fortunate classes. We can do neither. The federal government has control only over goods in commerce among the States. It cannot enter a State and direct its citizens to produce. Nor can it tax one class in the community to the advantage of others—at least not directly. Congress had therefore to meet its problem in abnormal and indirect ways, approaching always the limits set by the Constitution, yet endeavoring to keep within them. It therefore avoided the use of any phrase which suggested special taxes, the fixing of prices, or the controlling of production. Nevertheless all these were the objects the Farm Bloc sought.

We need to notice three mechanisms in particular which were written into the bill: (1) Stabilization funds, (2) equalization fees, and (3) the "agreements," to be made through farmers' cooperatives wherever they existed, through which the policy of "surplus control" would be carried out. The first of these showed a continued adherence to the idea that there should exist a stable relation between agricultural and other prices. By "stabilization" it was not expected to stop general price fluctuations, but only to keep the prices of the controlled commodities exactly in tune with general movements. This is because farmers lose more than they gain from long-run, cyclical changes in price levels. Equalization fees are the taxes laid on the commodities to make up the equalization funds. Congress, under the bill, would have set up a $250,000,000 revolving fund to support the equalization fund at first. The funds were to be used to carry out the "insurance of prices" for the organizations of farmers with whom agreements are made. These "agreements" are the crux of the matter. The provisions of the act in this respect read as follows:

> During the continuance of such [control] operations, in any basic agricultural commodity, the board is authorized to enter into agreements . . . with any cooperative association engaged in handling the basic agricultural commodity, or with a corporation created by one or more of such cooperative associations, or with processors of the basic agricultural commodity. Such agreements may provide for (1) removing or disposing of any surplus of the basic agricultural commodity, (2) withholding such surplus, (3) insuring such commodity against undue and excessive fluctuations in market conditions, and (4) financing the purchase, storage, or sale, or other disposition of the commodity.

It was by this means that the legislators hoped to avoid unconstitutionality on the one hand and to gain relief for the farmers on the other. The bill passed both houses of Congress. It was, however, vetoed by the President who stated his reasons in a lengthy veto message.

The veto message attacked the bill on three main grounds: (1) Its constitutionality, (2) the probable efficiency of its operation, and (3) the soundness of the policy it sought to carry out. As to its constitutionality, this was attacked on four grounds in an appended report of the Attorney General: (1) Because it limited the Presidential appointive power, (2) because it was an undue extension of delegated powers by Congress, (3) because it was a price-fixing act rather badly concealed, and (4) because the equalization fee would result in the taking of property, without due process of law, from some to assist others.

As to the soundness of these arguments the legislators are entitled to an opinion as well as the Attorney General. It would be interesting to discover the opinion of the Supreme Court which would settle the matter. The first two objections would be as pertinent to other laws such as the Federal Reserve Act; the last is a routine objection always adduced to unpalatable property laws. The important objection is the price-fixing one. There can be no question that the bill was intended to influence prices. If it did not do that it would accomplish none of its avowed objects. But whether the Farm Bloc had discovered a way of doing this which would seem to the Supreme Court permissible was the most interesting question.

The President felt, aside from the matter of constitutionality, that the bill was inexpedient because (1) it would impose burdens on many to benefit a few, (2) it would build up an unwieldy bureaucracy with a difficult administrative problem, and (3) it would defeat its own purpose by stimulating the production of commodities at the very time when their supply should be limited. In much of the contemporary discussion there was admitted to be cogency in this last objection, especially since the operation of the act was restricted to only six of our many crops. If it had covered all of them, shifting from one to another would not be possible. Of course a total increase in agricultural produce might result, and if it did, farmers as a whole would be worse off than ever, provided they had done nothing to reduce their costs. The only way in which they could possibly benefit ultimately would be not from inflated prices but from continual payments out of the stabilization fund. But this was not intended to be supported from the public treasury, except as a revolving fund originally provided. If it were found that the board could continue to dump abroad enough, even of increased crops, to restrict supply here and so increase domestic prices, then the argument of the veto message would not hold. Now, a belief that this could be done has always been a main dependence of the Bloc's legislative efforts, even in the first formulations of policy. The President refers to this possibility, but feels that "with such increased surpluses dumped from the United States on to foreign markets, the world prices will be broken down and with them American prices, upon which the premium is based, will likewise be lowered to the point of complete disaster to American farmers." This is, at best, a matter of conjecture.

It seems only fair to infer that the veto message proceeded rather from preconceptions of what general economic policies are best than from any desire to assist in the solution of our agricultural problem. When its last paragraphs are reached, this appears very clearly: "The main policy of this bill is an entire reversal of what has been heretofore thought (*sic*) to be sound. Instead of undertaking to secure a method of orderly marketing which will dispose of products at a profit, it proposes to dispose of them at a loss. It runs counter to the principle of conservation, which would require us to produce only what can be done at a profit, not to waste our own soil and resources producing what is to be sold at a loss to us for the benefit of the foreign consumer." This is doubtless true. Indeed, many of the Bloc leaders have admitted as much. But it is no more true for farmers than for industrialists, who, these leaders say, are permitted this same anti-conservation policy. The President does not admit this fundamental inconsistency. He goes on to say that the policies contemplated by the measure also "run counter to the well-considered principle that a healthy eco-

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nomic condition is best maintained through a free play of competition." Here again he is simply subscribing to a doctrine, not arguing from facts. It is true, as he says, that "for many generations such practices (as restraint of trade) have been denounced by law as repugnant to the public welfare." But this overlooks the growing opinion among statesmen that free competition fails in just such crucial tests as are here applied. Specifically it allows agriculture, as one who looks may see, to degenerate in precisely the ways it should not have done if the justification of competition as the life of trade were sound.

What really fails to be recognized in all this discussion is the fact that agriculture is ailing in a chronic way as other industries are not. It seems unlikely that the removal of the tariffs which favor manufacture would affect many industries at all, except for the wiping out of certain superprofits which they now enjoy. Certain readjustments would, of course, take place, all of which cannot be foreseen. But no wholesale reorganization would occur. And this would be because America has by far the most efficient industrial machine in the world. That farming needs such a stimulus to keep it in existence at all—as is claimed by the proponents of price legislation—shows the probability of difficulties which go deeper and which would not be touched by price-fixing. These are of the sort which are involved in the fundamental fact that farming has advanced in technique far less rapidly than other crafts.

It may well be that farming as a way of life is doomed. There is a good deal of truth in what is said, for instance, by Henry Ford—that farming as it is usually carried on is not an industry which ought to be allowed to live. According to him there are only thirty to sixty days of genuine effort needed on a well-managed farm during the year. Why, he asks, should we pay a farmer a year's wages for doing two months' work and pottering about the rest of the year? His method of solving the difficulty, which he has put into practice in a small way, is to correlate farming with manufacturing and to use the otherwise largely wasted time of farmers at really productive tasks.

However we ultimately move, the economist must admit that farming as it is carried on at present cannot long continue to exist. The farmer is industrially so weak that his productivity remains low; and he is so poorly organized that stronger classes continually find him ineffective in bargaining. Everything goes against him. So we see the farms being drained of men, only the poorest stock remaining; we see farms being abandoned; we see production being reduced to a point which, in view of our national growth, becomes positively dangerous. Finally we must admit the choice of permitting this degeneration, or of formulating policies which will cause agriculture to develop normally as a part of the national economy as, of course, ultimately it must—for we have not learned to get along without food or raw materials. What at present seems most likely to occur is the forcing of the issue by the ever-active Farm Bloc in such a way that a choice will have to be made between the abandonment of protection to manufacturers and the extension of the protective system to farmers through the instrumentality of some such measure as the McNary-Haugen bill. The strength and strategic situation of the Farm Bloc are such that it seems unlikely that it can be fought off much longer. Its remedy, however, is temporary and artificial. It is even more inevitable that in the long run fundamental changes must take place in agriculture itself. Either it must be allied with industry and run as supplementary to it or it must be so reorganized as to avail itself of the efficiencies which, in our day, are revolutionizing the manufacturing arts. Perhaps it will come to large-scale operation with fewer proprietors and more laborers working under direction. Or, perhaps, what most students hope but scarcely expect, farmers will learn the lessons of cooperation so thoroughly that they can retain what is so precious in country life by sacrificing what is inefficient and obstructive.

The Third Degree and Crime

By A. C. SEDGWICK

WHAT happens in the detective bureau is nobody's business but the policeman's. But once I happened to be in a downtown police station when some detectives brought in four prisoners whom they had captured after a hold-up. One of them had been shot several times in the back of the neck. The blood poured down from his wounds in rivulets. He groaned, sobbed, and denied everything to a group of uniformed policemen who had gathered around him as he sat on a bench in the back room. An ambulance doctor came in later and took him to the hospital, where he died.

The other three men, dapper in cheap clothing, with dumb, roving eyes, were ushered into the detective bureau, a small room with two desks and chairs, by the big-jowled detectives who had captured them. Other detectives followed. They could not miss the show. I was a young police reporter, full of enthusiasm. I, too, wanted to see the show. On account of the unusual excitement I made my way into the bureau unnoticed. The door closed. I was in the room in all about five minutes.

The newspapers later said the three men were questioned and admitted not only what they were caught doing but all sorts of "stick-ups" in the last six months. They admitted everything with which the detectives charged them.

Here in this little room the questioning and answering take place. The prisoners stand in a row. They are turning their hats around in their hands nervously. They look at their inquisitors, now at a loss, now defiant. They say the revolvers found in their car were not theirs—they do not know how they came to be there. Perhaps a good lawyer could have disproved possession of the guns. But this little court, like every other little court in the eighty-odd police stations in Greater New York, knows no counsel for the defense. Justice is the policemen's business here, and so is punishment.

The detectives must have a "clean" confession. They know the prisoners shot at them in the chase which followed the hold-up. They think the same men did the "jobs" which are still on their books as unsolved. They "have the

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goods on them," but the men refuse to talk. The detectives must make them talk—must "go to work on 'em" till they do.

One detective takes a piece of rubber hose, which is part of the equipment of the detective bureau and is favored for use because it leaves no marks. Another takes out his black-jack. Others grab anything—black-jacks, revolvers, night-sticks. "I seen you before," bawls a detective. "No, sir," the prisoner answers. The detective strikes him. This is the signal. The "shellacin'" has started. Blow after blow from the rubber hose, black-jacks, and night-sticks. The prisoners fall to the floor. The blood pours from their faces. They spit and cough blood. The detectives, still in a white rage, look at them. The door opens. A young policeman in uniform pokes his head in. "You fellers is easy with 'em," he says. "Is that so?" roars a detective and kicks a prisoner in the face, pulls him to his feet, props him against the desk, then with the butt end of his revolver makes a gash in his head. The three prisoners go to the hospital.

If it were asked of any official source what happened to these men it would be said that they received their injuries resisting arrest, or perhaps that the "sidewalk come up and hit 'em." Policemen are supposed to use only that force which is necessary in the effecting of an arrest. But force, third-degree methods are necessary, the policeman believes, necessary to himself especially, for by beating a prisoner he is not only showing his authority but he has a chance to get from the prisoner confessions which may win him publicity and promotion. The third degree is known to all who have associated with policemen, but it is one of those things which is winked at and tolerated. Who can prove to a judge that a prisoner has fallen victim to violence in a police station when all the witnesses are policemen?

Once in a while someone who is neither a crook nor a policeman learns of what goes on in this little court and torture chamber. The well-meaning sentimentalist decries it, weeps over it, makes a plea to the police commissioner, perhaps, or refuses to sit on a jury in a criminal case, believing the prisoner has been driven through force to a confession by the arresting detectives. The hard-boiled law-and-order specialist says the crooks deserve all the punishment the police can give them. The criminologist says there is nothing to be done for the criminal but glandular adjustment and psychoanalysis. And all the while the big detective who knows the crook is a "rat" solves the problem by "giving him the lumps." It must be added: What joy he takes in it!

The detective is not the man-hunter of fiction. As a general rule, he is a man of neither superior knowledge nor cunning. He differs from the truck-driver and the piano-mover only in one respect. He is clothed with authority. He has no greater knowledge than his supposed lesser brethren—no greater learning, though he would pretend to have. The detective's main chance for success lies in his acquaintance with characters of the underworld. He must know the low dives, "gin-mills," and poolrooms in his district, not only because the crooks hang out in such places but because it is there he makes the acquaintance of men who may be valuable as stool pigeons. The greater the familiarity with low life, the more proficient the detective. Society expects the detective to be proficient in his front-line work of combating crime.

Those three men who were brought into the downtown police station and given their "shellacin'" were caught red-handed. With the aid of a shyster, schooled in legal loopholes, the three of them might have got away scot-free had a jury and judge alone decided their fate. Although the law forbids it, the treatment they received from the detectives may act as a warning to other offenders. But criminals are seldom caught red-handed. Most arrests are made after a tip to the police by stool-pigeons. Stool-pigeons are pointers and spies. They have taken to "squealing" on their brothers to insure better treatment for themselves at the hands of the detectives. They are often paid betrayers. They are too degraded to hold the truth. They give hearsay as information. It is to their advantage to lie. As the detectives nearly always work on information given them by stool-pigeons, they are all too likely to convict innocent persons in their little court in the police station. And besides, since the detective's job depends on his accomplishment, it is a temptation to convict one whom he merely suspects and to extort a confession at any price.

Often the detectives "give out the lumps" because of a personal grudge, due perhaps to race prejudice. "You Guinea. . . . You Jew . . .," they bawl out. After each epithet comes a blow with a rubber hose. If it is not nationality it may be manner of speech or personal appearance. "I didn't like the color of his eyes," I heard a detective say once, "so I made 'em black."

The police abuse the right they have assumed to hold court and to punish. By the practice they show themselves to be without justice. Also they make a great practical error. Policemen, by virtue of their own methods, appear to the underworld as a bad lot, as bad as any crooks. As representatives of law and guardians of society they instil into the class of offenders contempt of law and hatred for society. The crooks believe them no different from themselves; they just happen to be on the other side of the fence.

In the Driftway

IS noise a danger to health and life? The Drifter thinks it is. Indeed he is so much of a crank on the subject as to believe noise to be as great an evil as impure water, dirty milk, or bad sewage. Naturally, therefore, he is pleased when the Health Commissioner of New York City, Dr. Louis I. Harris, issues a blast against the noise of riveting in the construction of steel-frame buildings. But though agreeing in principle, as the diplomatists say, the Drifter is not sanguine that anything will come of Dr. Harris's protest. Dr. Harris is a public official busy with many chores and, unlike the Drifter, is probably not enough of a crank in regard to noise to keep everlastingly after it until he accomplishes something. The newspapers seem to have established that riveting is unnecessary—that electric welding, a noiseless process, would do as well. But there are many men whose capital and business experience are tied up in riveting; there are numerous others who make their daily living by doing it. The Drifter questions if public feeling against noise is sufficiently aroused to overcome this influence—unless electric welding can be demonstrated to be cheaper.

* * * * *

THAT the public at large not only does not object to noise but positively revels in it can hardly be doubted. Most of us are still children in that when we are especially happy—and often when we aren't—we can't think of anything to do about it but shout or bang on a tin pan. Our

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cities are built and conducted without the slightest conception that noise is devastating to thought, temper, peace of mind, and health. Day and night our ears are filled with a banging, whanging, clanging racket, a tooting, yelling, yipping babel, most of which is unnecessary. The drilling machine—with which excavations are made and pavements uprooted—is as bad as the riveting hammer. Worst and most general of all is the automobile horn. Although the Drifter is opposed to capital punishment for such a trifling offense—if not a national pastime—as murder, he would retain the death penalty for any car-driver who uses his horn as a signal from the street to somebody inside a house; also for all those Nervous Nellies who when caught in a traffic jam work off their impatience by starting a honking chorus. In fact the Drifter would abolish the automobile horn altogether in the interest of greater safety as well as of less noise. Since the law never authorizes a car-driver to honk a pedestrian or a slower vehicle out of the way, the man at the wheel could complain of no injustice and he would inevitably have to drive more slowly or be put to the continual annoyance of getting out and disentangling bodies from his front wheels. If it be objected that the horn is a useful signal between two cars at crossings or curves, the Drifter retorts that it wouldn't be necessary if drivers observed the rules in regard to right of way and stuck to their own sides of the roads.

* * * * *

STILL the Drifter doubts if he will live to see the automobile horn abolished or our cities appreciably quieter. His one hope is that as he grows older he may become deaf. To phrase it according to the modern cant, the public is not noise conscious. Years ago Mrs. Isaac L. Rice, a resident of Riverside Drive, New York City, started a crusade to reduce the unnecessary whistling of boats on the Hudson River. She deserved a monument, but she got the merry ha-ha. Some day, decades hence, we shall have practically noiseless cities. But no credit will go to Mrs. Rice, Dr. Harris, or the Drifter. The glory will fall to some later-day smart Alec who joins the crusade after the public becomes noise conscious.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Democracy in the Unions

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: We have read with interest Mr. Benjamin Stolberg's article in your May 4 number dealing with the present unfortunate dispute in the Cloakmakers' Union. As a group concerned with the question of democracy in trade unions, we wish to point out that this important issue, which lies at the heart of the dispute, is practically ignored by Mr. Stolberg.

Mr. Stolberg takes the position that the expulsion of the New York Joint Board was the result of the conduct of the general strike of the cloakmakers. We understand that the expulsions can be traced directly to the demand of the rank and file for greater democratization of the union. It is a matter of common knowledge that in the summer of 1925 the rank and file of the union pushed the question of "proportional representation" to the fore, and President Sigman was ordered by the emergency convention, held in Philadelphia in December, 1925, to submit the question to a referendum of the membership within six months. Although a year and a half has elapsed, this has not yet been done. It would seem that the present expulsions and the reorganization of the Joint Board and the four locals are an attempt on the part of President Sigman to avoid this referendum.

In view of the significance of this struggle to the general labor movement we feel that it is unfortunate that Mr. Stolberg neglected this aspect of the situation to raise the outworn alarm of communism. We wish to register here a protest against the expulsion of members of any labor union for opposition sentiment. If the policy is upheld we can see only disintegration for the American labor movement, since expelled workers must either become scabs or be forced out of the industry altogether.

New York, May 6 ROBERT W. DUNN, PAXTON HIBBEN,
H. W. L. DANA, HELEN BLACK,
ANN WASHINGTON CRATON,
For the Committee on Democracy in Trade Unions

Strike Finances

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In my article on The Collapse of the Needle Trades in *The Nation* of May 4, in which I dealt largely with the strike of the cloakmakers in New York City in 1926, I said: "Previous strikes in the industry have cost from 50 per cent to 200 per cent cheaper." Obviously nothing can cost "200 per cent cheaper."

To avoid controversy I wish to make a correction in the form of a table of the larger strike and lay-off expenditures in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union during the last decade.

General strike, 1916.....	16	weeks—45,000 workers—	$ 597,760.62
General strike, 1919.....	9	weeks—45,000 workers—	145,145.7
Lockout, 1921-22.....	20	weeks—40,000 workers—	1,037,593.5
Stoppage, 1924...(officially)	6	weeks—40,000 workers—	493,417.17
Cloakmakers' strike, 1926..	17	weeks—33,000 workers—	3,500,000.00

This last figure is putative, for no true account of expenditures was kept. During the first two weeks after the strike settlement strike benefits are usually paid. Of course, both the cost of living and the cost of fighting has steadily increased since 1916. These figures were obtained from the chief auditor of the I. L. G. W. U. All these figures were properly audited except the last one.

The Lefts make much ado about the joint responsibility of both sides in the conduct, especially the financial conduct, of the strike. Four Right-Wing chairmen were in charge of four expensive committees. The truth is that these four Right-Wing officials were forced to play a purely nominal part. And their willingness, especially toward the end of the strike, to play such a part for political reasons, does not change the fact that the strike was run by the Left Joint Board.

New York, May 10 BENJAMIN STOLBERG

The Left Wing Replies

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In Mr. Benjamin Stolberg's article on the needle-trades situation in your issue of May 4 I find serious inaccuracies which I feel ought to be pointed out to the readers of *The Nation*, many of whom are greatly interested in the outcome of the present struggle. Mr. Stolberg seems to have been misinformed as to the calling of the recent general strike of cloakmakers, its finances and management, its gains for the workers, and as to the outcome of the present dispute within the union.

The demands for which the strike was fought were formulated by President Sigman and his associates in 1924, more than a year before the present Left-Wing administration in the Joint Board came into power. The membership voted to strike for the demands in that year. Instead of carrying out the order to strike, President Sigman presented the demands to a commission named by Governor Smith. When the commission reported, after two years, its terms were such as could not be accepted by the union, as President Sigman himself pointed out in many

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speeches and interviews. In an affidavit, sworn to on September 20, 1926, he discussed the commission's findings as follows:

> The recommendations, which undoubtedly are the result of careful and painstaking investigation and of a conscientious effort to remedy some of the evils of the industry, fell considerably short of satisfying the most substantial demands of the workers. Our union, after very careful consideration of the commission's recommendations, reluctantly reached the conclusion that they were *entirely inadequate* to remedy the most crying evils under which the workers suffered. . . . Our union thus found itself forced to declare a strike in order to bring about the necessary improvements in the conditions of the workers.

Mr. Sigman has since reversed himself, in his efforts to find some excuse for getting rid of the opposition to his administration by the time-honored method of expulsion, and Mr. Stolberg has made the mistake of taking Mr. Sigman's contradiction seriously.

In discussing the general management of the strike, Mr. Stolberg's analysis is misleading. Contrary to the practice of the Right Wing, which in past strikes had always excluded Left-Wing leaders from strike committees, four of the most important of the eight committees were placed in the hands of Right-Wing leaders. These were the finance, settlement, law, and out-of-town committees.

Mr. Stolberg's sweeping statement that "Never in the history of American labor has a strike been more incompetently, irresponsibly, and wastefully managed," is both ridiculous and untrue. A casual examination of the facts is sufficient to show that the strike, which lasted twenty-four weeks, was proportionately no more expensive than other needle-trades strikes, and indeed, more economical than most. To give only one instance, the International spent a half million dollars on the stoppage of 1924, which officially lasted only two weeks—the strike of 1926 therefore spent only seven times as much for a period twelve times as long.

Mr. Stolberg's figures omit the expenditure of $476,000 by the Out-of-Town Committee, headed by J. Halperin of the Right Wing. This amount, added to the $302,378 spent by the Law Committee, headed by Joseph Fish, also of the Right Wing, accounts for $778,379 of the strike funds, or about twice as much as was spent by the three committees (picket, hall, and organization), headed by Left-Wing chairmen, whose total expenditure was $392,982. Mr. Stolberg notes that "only $1,500,000," or half of the entire funds, was spent for strike benefit, but fails to discover that of the total strike funds only about one-seventh was in the hands of members of the Left Wing at all.

Furthermore, all of the finances of the strike were under the control of a Finance Committee, headed by Abraham Baroff, secretary-treasurer of the International, all disbursements were made by Joseph Fish, a member of the Right Wing, and all financial reports were regularly audited by Mr. Sigman's accountants and approved by the General Strike Committee, of which Mr. Sigman was a member.

In discussing the gains to the workers, Mr. Stolberg has minimized them in most instances. He states that the workers received some increases in wages above those recommended by the Governor's commission, but that these affect "only about 800 out of 7,000 workers." As a matter of fact, the agreement made by the Joint Board with the employers obtained increases of from $1 to $4 above those recommended by the commission *in every craft.*

Mr. Stolberg's summary of the situation is that "the Sigman administration won." This is manifestly untrue. If President Sigman has won, why do thousands of cloak and dressmakers flock to the mass meetings and pay their dues to the Joint Board? And why does President Sigman still refuse to allow the members to hold elections? Why does he still delay the referendum to decide the question of proportional representation, which he was ordered to carry out within six months of the 1925 convention? Although he makes a passing reference to the question of proportional representation, Mr. Stolberg entirely fails to understand its significance as the real cause of the present struggle, just as he fails to note that this struggle is a continuation of the 1925 fight for that principle.

President Sigman's administration is kept in power by a "rotten-borough" system of representation to the convention that elects him. When the Left Wing defeated him in 1925 he was forced to promise a reform, and at the convention agreed to submit a plan of representation to the membership. Two courses were then open to him—to carry out the referendum, which in all probability would cause the overthrow of his administration, or to attempt to discredit the Left-Wing leaders who had led the movement for proportional representation. He chose the latter course. He has stated publicly that he will not allow the referendum to be held until "peace" has been restored. If the "Reds" can be eliminated, President Sigman probably will have nothing to fear from a referendum, democracy within the union can be avoided for another few years, and the bureaucracy will continue to flourish.

New York, May 8 LOUIS HYMAN,
Manager, the Joint Board of Cloak, Skirt, Dress, and Reefer Makers' Unions

Fair Words

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Benjamin Stolberg's series of articles on the situation in the needle trades is a study of great value, and I should like to thank him for writing it and you for publishing it.

There are certain conclusions I should like to emphasize.

1. To an amazingly small degree has there been any difference of principle between Lefts and Rights in the New York needle-trade fight. Left and Right slogans and banners were convenient rallying points or, to drop the figure, were convenient rationalizations for quarrels over personal animosities and ambitions and questions of local tactics. Both in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and in the Furriers the Lefts went in as reformers to clean house rather than as revolutionaries to set up a dictatorship of the proletariat beginning in the needle trades. It cannot be said that in many aspects of the struggle questions of philosophy—Socialist, Communist, or American Federation of Labor—were really involved.

2. Nevertheless, the serious mismanagement of affairs—to use no harsher word—in the furriers' and the garment workers' unions must reflect with severity upon the Communist Party, which claims to keep a rigorous discipline over its members and to assume a responsibility for their behavior which no other party or group has ever claimed. The Communist leaders of the furriers' and cloakmakers' strikes did not, it is true, discover any brand-new principles in their use or misuse of money for unsavory purposes. They did go back on their own pledges of reform with cynical and appalling completeness. Moreover, the improper use of funds for gangsters, fixers, police, etc., rarely if ever, got so little results in terms of immediate success.

3. Not only in the needle trades in New York but in the labor movement at large it is of the utmost importance that factional quarrels should give way to reconstruction of the movement and reassertion of its genuine ideals. In such a forward movement in the ranks of labor there is a type of Communist energy and devotion, manifest in Passaic if not in New York, which has its place. But it is difficult to ask the unions to recognize this fact so long as the Communist Party claims the right to control by rigid discipline the actions of Communist members or officials of labor unions in the affairs of the unions.

Such considerations as these are of primary importance to the workers themselves, but they ought also to be of some concern to certain liberals and radicals who hastily assume that because the Rights have been wrong at a number of points therefore the Lefts must be right. (No pun is intended!)

New York, May 17 NORMAN THOMAS

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Another Explanation of "Big Bill" Thompson

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your article on the recent Chicago election was splendid, but the writer neglected one important factor. Dever was elected mayor four years ago on a straight "immediate municipal ownership and operation of street cars" platform.

Immediately after his election he repudiated his pledges and fought against this principle continuously. Under the circumstances sincere believers in municipal ownership were forced to repudiate him and, having no other choice, to support Thompson.

Chicago, May 6 E. D. Loewenthal

Catholics in High Office

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I am interested in current United States politics, and especially in the political maneuvers centering about the coming Presidential election. The people of the United States call their country the land of liberty and freedom, yet discussion is rife over the possible nomination and election of Governor Alfred Smith, a Roman Catholic. Why all the worry? Let Americans look at the example of Canada. We have had two Catholic Premiers: Sir John Thompson and Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The great Sir Wilfrid, although a Roman Catholic, was a true progressive and in nowise subservient to the church. Just read the history of the Manitoba school act!

Saskatoon, Canada, April 23 E. Kreutzweiser

Barnard Graduates' Jobs

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: May I correct a statement in a recent paragraph in *The Nation* regarding the occupations of the 1926 graduating class of Barnard College? You stated that there were 140 graduates and that none of these were married. As a matter of fact, the *Barnard Bulletin*, from which you undoubtedly copied the statement, omitted from the list the graduates who were married and those who were not working. I am giving below the correct figures:

Class of 1926	223
Married	17
Working	133
Studying	67
No information or unoccupied	6

Of those listed as either working or studying, 27 are doing both; of the married graduates, 6 are working and 2 studying.

New York, May 9 Mary V. Libby,
Assistant to the Dean of Barnard College

Why Cars Kill

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: One of your correspondents writes: "If Mr. Ford should reduce the speed of his cars, competitors would eat right into his business."

This is a very dreadful insinuation. It implies that Mr. Ford would rather continue to support a speed which is causing the death of twenty-five thousand human beings annually in the United States than suffer a diminution of his profits. I think better of Mr. Ford: that gentleman has the reputation of being an unusually humane and conscientious man.

Your correspondent continues: "If Mr. Ford should induce the leading automobile men of this country to set a speed limit—what would stop those who want speed from buying foreign cars?" Foreign intoxicants have been excluded from this country, and why not foreign automobiles? If the automobile manufacturers of the United States were to get together to reduce the speed of automobiles to a safe and reasonable limit (for the preservation of human life) I am confident that the United States Government could be trusted to come to their assistance, by increasing the duty upon foreign automobiles to a point at which their importation into America would become unprofitable, or, even, by excluding them altogether. Our automobiles would then have the home market entirely to themselves, and that market takes 80 per cent of the output of the entire world.

As an alternative to this solution of the speed question, I propose a federal law, prohibiting the manufacture of automobiles capable of attaining a speed dangerous to human life. Such a law should have been passed twenty years ago: hundreds of thousands of human lives would then have been spared; and millions of men, women, and children, who are now cripples for life, would be sound and well.

Colorado Springs, Col., April 3 Bertrand Shadwell

Porto Rico's Delegate

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your issue of April 13 Roger Baldwin says that none of the United States colonies was represented in the Congress Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism, held in Brussels in February last.

Porto Rico, however, was represented there by Dr. José Vasconcelos, former Minister of Education of Mexico, who had credentials from the Nationalist Party of Porto Rico. Dr. Vasconcelos, as our delegate, presented a resolution demanding cooperation for the immediate and absolute independence of our country.

San Juan, P. R., May 18 Federico Acosta Velarde,
President, Partido Nacionalista de Puerto Rico

See pages iii, iv, *and* v

Contributors to This Issue

Margaret S. Ernst was formerly an editor of the *Double Dealer* and on the staff of the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*.

Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, is now in Europe on various missions.

Rexford Guy Tugwell is associate professor of economics at Columbia.

A. C. Sedgwick is on the staff of the New York *Times*.

A. J. M. Smith is a Canadian poet.

Laura Riding is an American poet.

Harry Elmer Barnes is the author of "History and Social Intelligence."

Joseph Jastrow, author of many works in psychology, is a frequent reviewer for *The Nation*.

Hartley Alexander, author of "Manito Masks: Dramatization with Music of American Indian Spirit Legends," is professor of philosophy at the University of Nebraska.

Roy Temple House, of the University of Oklahoma, is editor-in-chief of *Books Abroad*, a new magazine designed to distribute information concerning book publications of Germany, France, Italy, the South American republics, and other countries.

J. D. Clarkson is a member of the department of history at the College of the City of New York.

See pages iii, iv, *and* v

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Books and Plays

Shadows There Are

By A. J. M. SMITH

Shadows there are, but shadows such as these
Are shadows only in the mortal mind
Blown by the spirit, or the spirit's wind.

Yet shadows I have seen, of me deemed deeper,
That backed on nothing in the horrid air,

And try as try I cannot limn the form
That some of them assume where I shall pass.
They grow transparent, and as sharp, as glass.

The Map of Places

By LAURA RIDING

The map of places passes.
The sacredness of paper
Tears with paper.
Land and water where they are
Are only where they were
When words read *here* and *here*
Before ships happened there.

Now on naked names feet stand,
No geographies in the hand.
And paper reads anciently
And ships at sea
Turn round and round.
All is known, all is found.
Feet wither on ghostly ground.
Death meets death everywhere.
Holes in maps look through to nowhere.

Poincaré's Defense

The Memoirs of Raymond Poincaré. Translated and Adapted by Sir George Arthur. Volume I. Doubleday, Page and Company. $5.

BEGINNING with the publication in 1920 of Joseph Caillaux's "Les Responsables" and the following year of Fernand Gouttenoire de Toury's "Poincaré a-t-il voulu la guerre?" there has been a steady stream of books and pamphlets produced in France assaulting the diplomacy of M. Raymond Poincaré from January, 1912, to August, 1914. His assailants have included partisan pamphleteers, distinguished literary figures, eminent scholars, and famous publicists. The more important of these have been, in addition to the two authors mentioned above, Victor Margueritte, Ernest Judet, Alfred Pevet, Alfred Fabre-Luce, Mathias Morhardt, Colonel Converset, Georges Demartial, Gustave Dupin, "Lazare," Armand Charpentier, Grillot de Givry, and René Marchand.

The indictment of Poincaré which has been formulated by his own countrymen may be summarized under the following points:

(1) When he assumed office as Premier and Foreign Minister in 1912 he rejected the German efforts at a *rapprochement*, including the offer of far-reaching autonomy for Alsace-Lorraine; (2) his all-absorbing life passion was the recovery of Alsace-Lorraine, which he recognized could be achieved only by war; (3) in November, 1912, he promised Izvolski that in case France was kept informed concerning Russian policies in the Balkans, France would follow Russia into any war which broke out over a Balkan crisis and brought in Germany against Russia; (4) he connived at the recall of the moderate French ambassador to Russia, Georges Louis, and replaced Louis by the incendiaries Delcassé and Paléologue; (5) he cooperated with the Russians in the bribery of the French press in order o induce the French papers to publish material designed to persuade the French people to support the French government in joining Russia in a European war over Balkan issues; (6) he approved the large French loans to Russia in 1912-1913 for the purpose of increasing the Russian army and building strategic railroads from central Russia to the German frontier; (7) he helped to obstruct the Anglo-German accord in 1913 and exercised a powerful part in promoting the Anglo-Russian naval convention in the spring of 1914; (8) he greatly strengthened the Russian militarists while on his visit to St. Petersburg in July, 1914, encouraged them to take a bellicose stand against Austria, and rejected Sir Edward Grey's pacific proposal to the effect that Russia and Austria should avert a crisis by amiable direct conversations; (9) when the great decision had to be made on the night of July 29, 1914, as to whether France would stand for peace or war, he threw the weight of his great personal influence for war at a time when he knew that diplomatic negotiations would in all probability succeed in adjusting the situation without an armed conflict; (10) once he and his clique had made the decision upon war he launched a policy of deceiving the French people as to the facts in the crisis; (11) he cleverly invented a number of diplomatic subterfuges designed to influence not only the French people, but also the public opinion of Italy and England, in order to detach Italy from the Triple Alliance and to bring England into the war on the side of France and Russia.

These serious charges rest for the most part upon the materials revealed through the publication of the Russian documents in the "Livre Noir," the Stieve collection, and the complete "Orange Book." If they are true they prove Poincaré to have been, along with Izvolski, primarily responsible for the diplomatic revolution of 1912-1914 and for deliberately forcing the Austro-Serbian crisis of 1914 into the proportions of a general European conflict. What has M. Raymond Poincaré been able to say in self-defense?

In 1921, in answer to some of his earlier critics, Poincaré composed his "Origines de la guerre," setting forth his version of the diplomacy in 1914. This was thoroughly demolished by a French publicist, writing under the name of "Lazare," in a trenchant work entitled "A l'Origine du mensonge." In the summer of 1925 the editor of *Foreign Affairs* was able to tease out of M. Poincaré a summary article once more attacking his critics, this time especially his American critics. This was published in the above-mentioned periodical in October, 1925, and was immediately riddled by Professor Fay, Judge Bausman, M. Dupin, and the present writer. Undaunted, M. Poincaré made use of the spare time afforded by his political retirement to prepare his official apology, which may run to ten volumes. This work he has had the audacity to entitle "Au Service de la France." Three volumes, covering the period of 1912-1913, were published before his return to public office in the summer of 1926. The volume under review constitutes a translation and slight abridgment of the first volume and the first half of the second volume of the French original.

As Alfred Fabre-Luce says, "Poincaré has contented himself with the effort to conceal highly significant omissions under a luxuriant mass of explanations dealing with wholly secondary issues." He often attempts to refute the deadly criticisms of his French opponents, not by dealing with their specific charges but by invoking irrelevant personalities. Fabre-Luce is dismissed because he was only twenty-six years old when

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he wrote his "La Victoire." Victor Margueritte's charges have no validity because Margueritte has not been duly grateful for past political favors from Poincaré and because he was dismissed from the Legion of Honor for writing "La Garçonn." René Marchand's "Livre Noir" and other writings are not to be taken seriously because Marchand was not adequately thankful for Poincaré's aid in getting him established as a reporter in Russia. Ernest Judet's editions of Georges Louis's diary are not to be trusted because Judet was opposed to the aggressive Franco-Russian diplomacy and favored a negotiated peace with Germany At other times, when Poincaré detects a minor error in the works of a critic, he will devote pages to an ostentatiously minute refutation.

In dealing with the basic charges against him Poincaré ignores his own letter of 1912 admitting the ardent German desire for a *rapprochement* with France, and presents the conventional tirade against German aggression and ambitions. He is successful in showing that he was opposed to the outbreak of the Balkan Wars in 1912 and that he preferred not to have a European war start in 1912 or 1913. But this does not in any sense prove that Poincaré and Izvolski were not planning a European war at a later date when France and Russia should be ready. It merely shows that Poincaré had the good sense not to want to precipitate hostilities prematurely.

The section in Poincaré's apology which has been most exploited by the "bitter-enders" is that in which he attempts to prove that he never made his famous promise of November 17, 1912, to aid Russia in the event that an appropriate crisis broke out in the Balkans. No one who honestly compares Izvolski's account of Poincaré's commitment and Poincaré's official version can contend that there is any essential difference in the sense and implications of the two accounts. What Poincaré stressed was that France must be informed as to Russian policy and that Germany must enter the conflict in order to bring in France. The latter was necessary if France was to recover Alsace-Lorraine through her aid of Russia. These two points reveal nothing new: they were repeatedly stressed by Izvolski in his correspondence with Sazonov. We may grant, though Poincaré does not prove it to be a fact, that Sazonov rather than Poincaré took the initiative in demanding the recall of Georges Louis, but the fact is that the chief item in the case against Poincaré at this point is not the recall of Louis but that the firebrands Delcassé and Paléologue were appointed as his successors. With respect to this capital point Poincaré does not even attempt to offer any defense.

The remaining items in the case against Poincaré either are left unchallenged or are not dealt with in this first volume. In the second and third French volumes he admits his part in the bribery of the French press, but tries to represent himself as participating in order to prevent the situation from getting out of hand. As Poincaré cannot be expected to know more at the present time about the crisis of 1914 than he did when he published his "Origines de la guerre" and his *Foreign Affairs* article, it can hardly be believed that he will be able to make a better case for himself in the succeeding volumes than he has in the three thus far published. The publication this spring of Georges Demartial's "L'Evangile du Quai d'Orsay"—a most devastating exposé of French official lies in 1914—may well cause Poincaré to reflect as to whether he should not allow the excuse of official duties and advancing age to prevent the resumption of his apology.

Throughout the work Poincaré bitterly attacks Izvolski as an impostor who persistently misrepresented him, but, while he is able to show in some cases slight verbal discrepancies between Izvolski's reports and the French official records, he is not successful in proving that Izvolski misrepresented the French policies or commitments in any decisive manner. Izvolski had every reason to represent Poincaré accurately to his home government, and Poincaré has both every reason to desire to falsify in his apology and almost unparalleled safety and facility in so doing. Nor can we accept Professor Fay's contention (in the *New Republic*) that Poincaré's aggressive diplomacy can be excused on the ground that he felt that war was inevitable and that he must prepare France for it. Poincaré's confession that in 1912 Germany was eager for a *rapprochement* completely destroys this interpretation. If war was "inevitable," Poincaré well knew *why* it was going to be inevitable, namely because of the policy he and Izvolski formulated in 1912 and carried through resolutely until August, 1914.

Another consideration of basic and elemental importance is that if Izvolski misrepresented Poincaré, then the way to make this apparent to the whole world is to publish the documents in the French archives in full. Though premier twice since 1918 Poincaré has made no move to do so. Until these documents are made freely available for public consumption Poincaré and his associates in 1914 must stand self-condemned before the bar of skeptical public opinion.

The fact is that the present controversy in France concerning responsibility for the World War is the Dreyfus case all over again, with Victor Margueritte occupying the role of Zola. Indeed, it is not without significance that Mathias Morhardt, one of the leaders in the effort to establish the truth in the Dreyfus conspiracy, is also one of the active directors of the present struggle for truth and justice in regard to war guilt and international good-will. But it will be a harder struggle to discredit Poincaré and his clique than it was to incriminate the conspirators against Dreyfus. The foes of Dreyfus could only make use of class and race hatred, while Poincaré can invoke in his defense the whole patriotic sentiment of France, the ostensible self-respect of a nation, the prestige of a great victory over a traditional foe, and the fruits of a dictated peace. It will be interesting during the next generation to observe how far the situation in France with respect to war guilt confirms or disproves the late Mr. Lincoln's optimistic observation as to the inability of politicians permanently to deceive the populace at large.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Tabloid Science

Types of Mind and Body. By E. Miller. *A Short Outline of Comparative Psychology.* By C. J. Warden. The New Science Series. W. W. Norton and Company. $1 each.

The Nature of Man. By George A. Dorsey. *The Age of the Earth.* By Arthur Holmes. *Science of Today.* By Sir Oliver Lodge. *The Stream of Life.* By Julian S. Huxley Things to Know Series. Harper and Brothers. $1 each.

THE title is used with apology. Applied to convenient and condensed surveys of topics of large moment, "tabloid" may be used with curt but emphatic approval. These manuals differ from the primers of an older period in that they aim at a different ideal suited to a differently oriented public Theirs is not a one-syllabled over-simplified version of subjects in small area, but a selection of significant themes, derived from the major disciplines, for concise treatment adapted to mature but not specialized intellects. It is a cordially commendable venture in adult education. Furthermore it gives an author opportunity to take stock critically of his specialty and show the trend and bearing of it upon the actualities of modern thinking. These "tabloids" are then far more than the work of skilful compilers; they are original presentations by masters of their fields, setting in order the accredited conclusions of other masters.

The Today and Tomorrow Series was the pioneer in the enterprise. The New Science Series is explicitly dedicated to responsible and provocative popularization, and under the editorship of Mr. C. K. Ogden gives assurance of merit in standard and accomplishment. The volumes so far issued indicate a prominent social-psychological interest. Mr. Miller's book has the special merit of providing a survey of a field not otherwise accessible. It is an excellent statement of the problem of "human types" as recently formulated in the light of psychiatry

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as well as of endocrinology. It will be as welcome to the professional student as to the general reader, for it reflects the aim of tabloid science to call attention to issues and interpretations of interest even before they are incorporated into textbooks or have left the controversial stage. Mr. Warden's brochure is excellent in all but its title. It provides not an outline but a history, and one that was needed to indicate how modern insight arose. No better account of how men have slowly learned to interpret the ways of animals is available in any compass.

And now we have the Things to Know Series—a wider orbit which will include history and literature and art as well as science. Mr. Dorsey's volume suggests both the value and the danger of condensation. The success of his "Why We Behave like Human Beings" was deserved. It was a rich book—full of compact facts and their interpretation. In that setting the value of any one view could be appraised in terms of evidence. Condensed to this compass, with no facts and a one-sided interpretation, it conveys the misleading impression that this is the "nature of man" upon which psychologists are agreed; which is false to the n^{th} degree. For Mr. Dorsey fairly limits himself to the psychological story of man and to the behavioristic brand of it. This alone is selected for the tabloid version. The result is so off scale that the title might be "Denatured Man." And more's the pity, for if Mr. Dorsey had not put his arm in the sling of behaviorism, he might have given it free swing with good effect.

The three other contributions are of a different stamp and of a quality not likely to be excelled. Professor Holmes has the difficult task of focusing the combined evidence from many technical sources upon a single problem. While the details transcend the average comprehension, the amazing logic, especially that involved in the conversion of radio-activity into a time-clock with a million years as the unit, is an impressive triumph. Sir Oliver Lodge tells the equally ingenious tale of the atom—how its inscrutability has been scrutinized by the logic of scientific genius and the technique of the laboratory. At once broad in scope and intimate in rendering is the account by Professor Huxley of the biological stream as it bears upon the story of evolution and man's place in it—again a product of rare insight and tested hypotheses. Macrocosm and microcosm and the human cosmos are reduced to study-hour wonder-tales, told with an expertness combining authority with intelligibility. They make knowledge attractive and ignorance a neglect.

One should mention with like approval, by the way, the entrance of Harvard University into this field, both with lectures-in-print and with such timely contributions as that of Dr. Macfie Campbell on "Delusion and Belief." These evidences that men of capacity and distinction are ready to serve the public not by writing down but by writing up significant topics for general consumption, and by providing a rich but digestible diet for eager appetites, are welcome indeed. May the tabloid newspapers take heed of the example. JOSEPH JASTROW

Jemez

The Pueblo of Jemez. By Elsie Clews Parsons. Yale University Press. $7.50.

THE village of Jemez is one of the "southern Tanoan" pueblos, linguistically related to Taos to the north, Isleta to the south, and also to the now abandoned Pueblo of Pecos. Jemez is not near the ordinary lines of travel, and it is one of the less-visited of the New Mexican pueblos. Culturally it has been strongly affected by its Keres and Tewa neighbors, and has received elements from Zuni and the Hopi villages of the West, as well as some influences from non-Pueblo Indians. The colonial Spanish influence is of course strong. Possibly in part due to its relative remoteness (although this is no invariable criterion in Pueblo culture), Jemez has preserved in its ritual and ceremonial life a certain earnestness that is not so manifest in towns such as Taos and Tesuque or San Ildefonso, where the contact with the white men's "show" spirit is more direct.

All of these factors appear to have influenced Mrs. Parsons's choice of Jemez for her thorough and valuable study, although the primary and justifying attraction is the fact that here still live a portion of the descendants of the ancient people of Pecos, preserving the ceremonies of their own clans and fitting into the economy of life of their hosts by a slow process of adaptation. The third generation from the Pecos immigration is now mature at Jemez, and yet the assimilation is but partial, either in ideas or in blood. The process is the very ancient one of amalgamation of communities and complexification of culture, marking the retrocession of the Pueblo boundaries now for many centuries. Long before the Discovery this process had been going on. At one time Pueblo culture extended far beyond the boundaries of New Mexico and Arizona. Now it is confined to restricted areas within these two States. Attacks from nomadic hunters forced concentration even where it did not annihilate, and thus time has created the most interesting of our native civilizations, perhaps the only one within the borders of the United States which truly merits this description. When Coronado made his famous expedition in 1539-1541, Pecos was the eastern outpost of Pueblo land. It maintained itself for three centuries, having been abandoned in 1838 chiefly because it was weakened beyond further resistance. The last handful of its people joined their remote kinsmen at Jemez, by invitation, and the slow process of amalgamation has since been going on, the new blood and the new ideas introduced into Jemez representing as it were the last testament of what had been but a few decades before the largest and most thriving of the pueblos. It is the spectacle of the melting-pot in miniature, and it is a matter of no wonder, as it is a matter of much gratification, that Mrs. Parsons has made of this interesting confluence the subject of her study.

HARTLEY ALEXANDER

The Greek

The Spanish Journey. By Julius Meier-Gräfe. Translated by J. Holroyd-Reece. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.

THE spirited translator of Count Hermann Keyserling's "Travel Diary of a Philosopher" has gone back nearly two decades and found another German philosopher's diary which might, a few years ago, have excited more discussion in the English-speaking world than is likely to greet it now. Meier-Gräfe published his impeachment of Velasquez and his glorification of El Greco in the year 1909. Cossio's "Life of Theotocopuli" came off the press a little earlier, but as far as the general public was concerned the German critic's dashing and readable travel-diary certainly won more suffrages for the neglected Greek than Cossio's bulky and austere volumes could ever have claimed. By now El Greco is almost as well known, in this country at least, as any other of the old masters. We have a considerable fraction of his best work in our museums, and Meier-Gräfe's witty and boisterous defense of him, while still both useful and amusing, affects us in 1927 somewhat as the wealthy Londoner does who is reputed to have visited Mr. Coleridge in the Lake Country and assured him that Shakespeare was a great poet.

One can well imagine that this apparently naive confession ("ars celare artem") of a Damascus Road conversion made a vivid impression when it first appeared. "I am Domenico Theotocopuli whom thou undervaluest." Meier-Gräfe, ardent admirer of Velasquez, went to Spain to spend six months studying and enjoying him. One good look at a first-class El Greco, and Velasquez becomes almost instantly superficial, second-rate, unable to formulate a mass, a talent but no genius, and El Greco's St. Mauritius "the most beautiful picture of mankind." Very

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interesting; but although this well-furnished art critic of forty, with several important books behind him, had up to this time had little opportunity to study El Greco, he had seen important Velasquez pictures in Germany, France, and Austria. Great artists are not mistresses, nor are critics sworn to monogamy. It is not quite likely that "A Spanish Journey" was solely the impulsive day-by-day diary the author and the publisher would have us believe. It is too much of a piece, and sees the end too clearly at the beginning.

One has a feeling, too, that the title is not quite candid. Why "Eine Spanische Reise" and not "El Greco"? There is a great show of brilliant random comment on bull-fights, Tangier Negroes dancing "a sort of *danse du ventre* from behind," the crown prince's shirt-studs, and the like, but the jovial journal is at bottom as deliberate and determined a brief as any essay by Taine or Ruskin.

No part of the above is intended for criticism. "The Spanish Journey" is one of the most praiseworthy, as well as one of the most successful propagandist documents in literature. Velasquez was pleasing and popular, and will always remain so. But the mysterious Greek-Italian-Spaniard with the absolutely new and personal sense of color, form, composition, this man who thought with a brush in his hand as other men have thought with a pen in theirs, needed an advocate because the art-loving world needed him. And it is to Meier-Gräfe's eternal credit that he spoke a courageous word in season.

The book is enriched with nine admirable reproductions of the Greek's best pictures.

ROY TEMPLE HOUSE

Kliuchevskii's "Course"

A History of Russia. By V. O. Kluchevsky. Translated by C. J. Hogarth. Vol. IV. E. P. Dutton and Company. $4.50.

"SCRATCH a Russian and you'll find a Tartar," says the old wives' tale. "Translate a Russian history and you'll disgrace a scholar," runs the practice of our publishers. Vasilli Osipovich Kliuchevskii (1841-1911) was one of Moscow's greatest historiographers and justly jealous of his reputation. For decades his "Course of Russian History" provided intellectual sustenance for students of their country's past; but from 1888, when he ceased to issue to his students the usual lithographed copies, until 1903 his lectures were not available to readers. They were first printed in 1902, in a *de luxe* edition of 20 copies only, which is said to have been prepared by Witte for the private use of the emperor. Other editions, likewise unauthorized by the author, found their way into circulation; in 1907, for example, over 6,000 copies were put on sale to raise funds for the revolutionary movement. Professor Kliuchevskii, who naturally resented the publication of garbled versions of his work, had no sympathy with such proceedings. In 1903, therefore, he undertook the preparation of an authorized edition of his course, which closed with the death of Nicholas I. Four volumes had been published when death interrupted his labors.

The first three volumes appeared in English translation in 1911-1913. Publication of the present volume, which covers the period from 1700 to 1762 (with an initial chapter on the first twenty-eight years of Peter's life), completes Hogarth's translation of the authorized portion of Kliuchevskii's "Course of Russian History." Ironically enough, the translation is badly garbled. It must not be taken as a sample of Russian scholarship, much less as an index of the literary talents of Russian historians. The reader, toiling with the cumbrous involutions of Hogarth's sentences, may be inclined to blame the Russian language and to wish that the translation had been less literal. But, in truth, had Hogarth set down word for word, sentence for sentence, paragraph for paragraph, the result would have been more felicitous. Russian, especially Kliuchevskii's Russian, is a simple, supple instrument. Kliuchevskii was a master at the use of short, incisive sentences; Hogarth an adept at addling them.

Kliuchevskii, though a pupil of Solovev and an adherent of the "Westerners," did not regard the reign of Peter the Great as a turning-point in Russian history. He was too keenly aware of the turn things had been taking for a century, too profoundly conscious that Peter effected very little change, except on paper. He was far enough from the scene of action not to be blinded by the clouds of dust that Peter knocked out of the windmills he tilted at. To be sure, Kliuchevskii, with his ingrained respect for legal forms, did not go so far as his disciple, Platonov, in denying Peter the right to be acknowledged as a crowned revolutionist. But out of his deep interest in economic history comes a presentation of Peter's reign as an economic disaster, as a period of incredible suffering for Peter's subjects. Peter's pedagogic methods in introducing into Muscovy the refinements of Western social intercourse, presented in some detail, afford a valuable sidelight on the "Europeanization of Russia."

Against this volume, as against Kliuchevskii's work in general, may be brought the criticism that the author was too much absorbed in the history of the state, as opposed to the history of society. The state was for him an abstraction, something apart from the people, though "the popular welfare is the true and only purpose of the state." The central theme of this volume is that Peter identified himself with the state, whereas, under the next six sovereigns, "the ties of state, juridical and moral, were broken one after another," until the state was "locked up in the palace with casual, ceaselessly changing masters." How little serious, however, is this charge is perhaps attested by the fact that in 1923 the Communist State Press issued a reprint of Kliuchevskii's four volumes, to the number of 11,000 copies.

For this volume is no mere chronicle of court adventures, but a penetrating analysis of state activity and its social reflexes. Kliuchevskii retails no backstairs gossip, indulges in no subjective study of personalities. He dwells rather on the relationships of the several social classes to each other and, above all, to the state. Notwithstanding the scars of translation, this volume is the most important English-language publication in the field of Russian history to appear for many moons.

J. D. CLARKSON

Books in Brief

Behind the Scenes with a Newspaperman. By E. J. Stackpole. J. B. Lippincott Company. $5.

If anybody wishes to know why the bulk of the provincial American press is incredibly dull, narrow, partisan, ignorant, and nationalistic, he will find a complete explanation in this volume. Mr. Stackpole has spent his life as a journalist and office-holder in one of our most corrupt States, in Harrisburg under the dome of the rottenest, in the point of view of corruption, State capitols ever built anywhere on the globe. If he had really wished to write what has gone on behind the scenes there he could have made one of the most sensational and startling of books, the best seller of a decade. But he gives us nothing but short sketches of Pennsylvania governors and other political and press personalities which any reporter could put together. The measure of his ideals may be taken from his praise of Matthew Stanley Quay and Boise Penrose. Mr. Penrose, he once publicly declared, was a "living expression of what constitutes the will of the people"! When one realizes how Penrose rose within Quay's machine one must take this statement as a joke; Mr. Stackpole means it seriously, and he actually thinks that Quay was a great man, "an intellectual and political giant." Naturally, Mr. Stackpole has little to say for the most recent ex-Governor, Gifford Pinchot. As for his newspaper ideals it is sufficient to quote this one gem of thought: "In the service of the community pulpit and press should work together in providing the people an unselfish natural development of more exalted standards of living without the poor pretense of a superior level of society." If that does not entitle Mr. Stack-

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pole of the Harrisburg *Telegraph* to a place in our journalistic hall of fame, what could?

The Last Victorians. By Arthur A. Baumann. J. B. Lippincott Company. $5.

The fault with this book is not that its author, "a Victorian Tory, naked and unashamed," defends the Victorian tradition by presenting a series of sketches which depict some of its leading politicians. That tradition, despite the clatter of contemporary "criticism," is perfectly secure; if any prophecy is certain, indeed, it is that one of these days we shall see its revival (witness Trollope today); but such a revival will not be hastened by books like this. Sheer septuagenarian perversity seems to have influenced Mr. Baumann in evoking the gray ghosts who falter, rather than flit, through these dull, peevish pages.

The Harvest of the Years. By Luther Burbank (with Wilbur Hall). Houghton Mifflin Company. $4.

It would be easy to poke fun at the "homely philosophy" which Mr. Burbank intrudes on almost every page of his autobiography; but whenever he abandons cloudy speculations on life, death, and immortality, and simply narrates how he overcame this, that, or the other difficulty in his specialized field of inventive horticulture, he is both canny and entertaining. If his book makes no contribution to scientific theory, it will nevertheless greatly grieve the followers of Bryan, and will be a not unworthy addition to the works of Burroughs and Thoreau.

Trumpets of Jubilee. By Constance Mayfield Rourke. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $5.

"Magnitude seems the single positive legacy of that forgotten time," writes Miss Rourke of the lush and sprawling era whose representative specimens she finds in the three Beechers (Lyman, Henry Ward, and Harriet), Greeley, and Barnum. "Out of sheer noise—power!" The boisterous crudities of Barnum's museum and circus were not, after all, essentially different from the tinseled metaphors of H. W. Beecher, the flagrant morality of Mrs. Stowe, or the strident, sizzling rhetoric of Greeley. All this, and much more, the author knows. She depicts her characters with an acid, penetrating elegance not untouched by sympathy; but, while she is shrewd and sharp, something of the florid expansiveness of her subjects has infected an otherwise admirable style.

The Arrow. By Christopher Morley. Doubleday, Page and Company. $1.50.

Here is a happy excursion into pure absurdity, adroitly introduced by an impressionistic picture of life on a trans-Atlantic liner. Mr. Morley knows his ocean; his description of "the lull and ecstasy of the sea" is a gem of humorous prose. The realm of fantasy into which he chooses to drift is bounded on the north by irony and on the south by sugar; it is mellow and amusing.

Mother Knows Best. By Edna Ferber. Doubleday, Page and Company. $2.50.

Miss Ferber's skill in narrative, her ready wit and deep discernment, and her responsiveness to the shifts and eddies of contemporary life—these qualities are reflected with unfailing zest on every page.

A Methodist Saint. By Herbert Asbury. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

Mr. Knopf has exercised his considerable skill as a printer in producing this life of Bishop Francis Asbury. The editorial contents are not so beautiful, however, as the author has sought to capitalize the popularity of "Up from Methodism" a little too quickly.

Ariane. By Claude Anet. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

This novel has created sufficient stir in Europe to warrant a serious preface on art, love, and subsidiary topics of aesthetics and life. In its English version it is a rather prosaic description of a prolonged emotional climax which ends happily and almost morally, granting the contemporary interpretation of morals.

The Pope of the Sea. By Vicente Blasco Ibáñez. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.50.

A clumsy romance in which large slices of historical narrative are sandwiched between the incidents of an uninspiring intrigue.

Morning, Noon and Night. By Kenneth Phillips Britton. Hartford, Connecticut: Edwin Valentine Mitchell. $2.

Another now-it-must-be-told novel of early sophistication that is smarter in attitude than in execution. Its poorly written reminiscences of college life add nothing to the information entertainingly offered by Mr. Britton's predecessors and models.

Drama

Summary—I

EVERY so often the popular theater revises an old formula and rewrites the successes of the past in the language of the moment. The real problem of the popular dramatist is to seem new while being familiar, and he receives his greatest applause when he succeeds in being the first to refurbish a type which has passed out of fashion. A few years ago, for example, when audiences were just beginning to fancy themselves too sophisticated for the conventional dramatization of the detective story, the "comedy mystery melodrama" was invented. It embodied in even exaggerated form all the tricks of its predecessor, but at the same time it tipped its audiences a wink calculated to save the face of those a little ashamed to be caught taking a penny dreadful seriously, and it became the reigning novelty of the moment, in spite of the fact that its chief stock in trade was the sliding panel and the secret chamber which have been familiar to every generation since the days of Mrs. Radcliffe and "The Mystery of Udolpho." This formula was endlessly repeated, and the fact that this year "The Spider" stands out as one of the conspicuous financial successes of a season during which several freshly interesting plays could find no audience illustrates how slight a variation was necessary to make it once more what the great public regards as "novel." But though "The Spider" will doubtless have its imitators, it is melodrama of a still older sort that is now most conspicuously resurgent. "Broadway," "The Barker," and "Spread Eagle" have each made history on the street for which the first is named, and all three belong essentially to a *genre* which was supposed to have perished utterly when the movies dealt their death blow to the ten-twenty-thirty.

Moralists at least may take heart from this fact and conclude that even along the Great White Way sophistication is no more than face-powder deep; for even if "Spread Eagle" may seem slightly subversive if regarded from a political angle, its appeal rests fundamentally upon good old, two-gun situations, and the others are as naive in their premises as the now famous ballads of the mauve decade. Who would have supposed that theatergoing New York, popularly regarded as in the last stages of depravity, would evince the greatest enthusiasm of the year for a play concerned with the fortunes of an extraordinarily pure show girl who escapes the wiles of a seducer in order that she may pass safely into the arms of her dumb but faithful swain ("Broadway"), or that it would next acclaim a piece in which it is once more demonstrated that even among such unlikely people as the carnival folk innocence flowers in unsuspected places and gets true love as its reward ("The Barker")? Who, indeed—except anyone who has watched the theater long enough to know that through all changes of fashion these, or rather this, is recurrently if not perennially popular? Each of the plays is romantic melodrama—violent external action taking place against a picturesque background—and romantic melodrama is destined, I think, to be the most popular type of play during the next few seasons, just as the milk-and-water domes-

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tic comedy which told how the poor young man suddenly made a fortune by turning his father's blacksmith shop into a modern garage or by taking an option on the meadow where the railroad company was planning to put its shops was the most popular type of play a few seasons ago. Such fashions have no more meaning than fashions of any other sort, but they are as curiously seductive to most people while they last.

O'Neill was perhaps the first to bring back violence, variety, and romantic color to the serious drama, which had got in the habit of concerning itself chiefly with drawing-rooms. Such plays as the Stallings-Anderson "What Price Glory?" and Sidney Howard's "They Knew What They Wanted" also took advantage of a reawakened interest in strange happenings among unfamiliar people; but their neo-romanticism was quickly exploited in a more superficial manner and a new melodrama of the sort just discussed was the result. The moralist, as I said, ma rejoice, and those theatrical managers quick enough to gath the first fruits of the new fashion may join him, but the studer of the drama may be excused from any great enthusiasm. Suc popular plays are merely the popular plays of yesterday sea soned to contemporary taste.

As to the events of the week, they were few: "Patience was revived at the Theater Masque in a manner which arouse the anger of some devoted admirers of Gilbert and Sullivan. found it unnecessarily boisterous but entertaining nevertheles "Merry Go Round" (Klaw Theater) is a revue of the somewha less lavishly spectacular sort now generally termed "intimate. It shows evidence of being rather hastily put together, but has its moments of amusing comedy and agile dancing.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

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" " " 13—MR. PIM PASSES BY
" " " 20—RIGHT YOU ARE
GARRICK THEATRE 65 W. 35th St. Eves. 8:40 Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:40

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" " " 20—THE SILVER CORD
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International Relations Section

The Soviet Raid in London

FOLLOWING the raid by British police on the premises of Arcos, Ltd., and the Soviet Trade Delegation, the Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee collected data and documents on the manner of making the raid, and published these in a pamphlet, from which we take the extracts printed below.

Foreword

The premises of Arcos, Ltd., and of the Trade Delegation of the USSR in Great Britain are housed in one building, 49 Moorgate, London, E. C. 2. Arcos is a joint-stock company registered in Great Britain in accordance with British laws. The activities of the Trade Delegation are based upon the trade agreement between His Majesty's Government and the Soviet Government concluded in 1921.

The chairman of the Trade Delegation, being the official trade agent of the Soviet Government, and his offices enjoy diplomatic immunity as provided in Clause 5 of the 1921 Trade Agreement. The above agreement specially provides for the right of the official trade agent to use cipher codes in his communications, and so on.

It is particularly important to note that the Trade Delegation, although housed in 49 Moorgate (premises belonging to Arcos, Ltd.), occupies apartments which are self-contained and at all the entrances of which are notices in large type, both in Russian and English, "Trade Delegation of the USSR."

It is, therefore, quite impossible to confuse the premises occupied by the Trade Delegation with those occupied by Arcos.

On May 12, at about 4:30 in the afternoon, a considerable force of uniformed and plain-clothes police (according to the press reports about 200) entered No. 49 Moorgate.

According to the evidence of people who were present the raid was carried out in the following manner:

The police, immediately on entering the building, took possession of the telephone exchange, disconnected all the telephones, and occupied the lift and all the entrances to the building. Various groups of the police occupied the entrances to all the floors and rooms belonging both to Arcos and the Trade Delegation. Within a few minutes the whole building was in the hands of uniformed and plain-clothes police.

The warrant authorizing the search was not presented before the search began. Mr. Sorokin, acting chairman of Arcos, Ltd., was only allowed to see the warrant an hour after the search commenced and only after repeated demands. Mr. Firsov, the secretary to the Trade Delegation, was shown the warrant half an hour after the commencement of the search.

The warrant authorized a search of the premises occupied both by Arcos, Ltd., and by the Russian Trade Delegation.

All persons found by the police on the stairs, corridors, and landings of the huge building were detained by the police. The employees of Arcos and the Trade Delegation who were in their offices were ordered to leave them and go into the corridors. Only the police remained in the offices, and all the demands of employees to be permitted to be present during the search were refused and they were not allowed to enter the offices then occupied by the police.

One group of police officers rushed immediately to the cipher room of the chairman of the delegation of the USSR, Mr. Khinchuk. At that time there were in the room the cipher clerks, Messrs. Miller, Khudiakov, and Mrs. Miller and Mrs. Granovsky. Mr. Miller told the police officer that this room was one of Mr. Khinchuk's offices where the cipher communications of the chairman of the delegation were kept, and that they, the cipher clerks, were not allowed to permit anyone into the room or to show the cipher communications to anyone without the express permission of the Official Trade Agent, or of one of the members of the Trade Delegation or responsible official of the Trade Delegation.

No notice was taken by the police of the protests of the cipher clerks, and the attempts of the latter to prevent the police officers from access to the cipher communications resulted in Mr. Miller and Mr. Khudiakov being assaulted by the police, the latter receiving several blows on the face.

At about 5 o'clock the police entered Mr. Khinchuk's private office.

Those employees who were detained in the corridors were questioned, the majority were told to turn out their pockets, and some underwent a personal search by police officers. Some of the women were also subjected to a personal search. None of those detained were allowed to take a single step without being followed by the police. Even the women were accompanied by uniformed police officers to and from the cloakroom.

Among those detained was Mrs. Rosengolz, wife of the Chargé d'Affaires of the USSR in Great Britain, and in spite of her protest her handbag was searched. The reason for the presence of Mrs. Rosengolz at 49 Moorgate was that as a doctor she was giving medical attention to the employees of Arcos and the Trade Delegation.

An hour later the women were gradually allowed to leave the building, the men were detained longer, some of them till late at night.

In about an hour after the commencement of the raid the police gave permission to the secretary of the Trade Delegation, Mr. Firsov, to examine some of the rooms. Similarly Mr. Sorokin, the acting chairman of Arcos, Ltd., was allowed at about the same time to enter the various rooms in the company of a police officer.

In almost all the rooms there were police officers.

During the whole of the late afternoon and evening of May 12 and of the night following the search proceeded in most of the rooms in the absence of representatives of Arcos or of the Trade Delegation. During the night the premises remained under police guard.

On the morning of May 13, in view of the fact that the search of the Arcos premises was still proceeding, Arcos was compelled to suspend business and posted an announcement to that effect on the entrance of its premises.

The Trade Delegation also withdrew its employees, as it was quite impossible to do any work. Thus on May 13 49 Moorgate remained in the exclusive possession of the police.

During the whole of the search there was no single case in which the police drew up any formal list or report of documents found or taken away, in the presence of representatives of the institutions raided.

Up to May 15 neither Arcos nor the Trade Delegation had been informed as to whether any documents had been taken away and what were the objects of the search.

In view of the fact that the raid on 49 Moorgate and the search of the premises of the Trade Delegation and of the private office of the official trade agent is of quite exceptional importance and endangers not only economic relations but may lead to a complete rupture of all relations between Great Britain and the USSR, the Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee considers it advisable to publish all the documents which may throw any light on the raid and the circumstances under which it was carried out.

With this end in view, the Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee instructed me as secretary to interview members of the Trade Delegation and Arcos, Ltd., as well as representatives of the press bureau of the embassy of the USSR and to collect all the materials and documents published herein.

W. P. Coates,
Secretary of Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee

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Sections of the documents collected by the Anglo-Russian Parliamentary Committee follow.

Extracts from the 1921 Trade Agreement

Article IV. Each party may nominate such number of its nationals as may be agreed from time to time as being reasonably necessary to enable proper effect to be given to this agreement, having regard to the conditions under which trade is carried on in its territories, and the other party shall permit such persons to enter its territories, and to sojourn and carry on trade there, provided that either party may restrict the admittance of any such persons into any specified areas, and may refuse admittance to or sojourn in its territories to any individual who is *persona non grata* to itself, or who does not comply with this agreement or with the conditions precedent thereto.

Persons admitted in pursuance of this article into the territories of either party shall, while sojourning therein for purposes of trade, be exempted from all compulsory services whatsoever, whether civil, naval, military, or other, and from any contributions whether pecuniary or in kind imposed as an equivalent for personal service, and shall have right of egress.

They shall be at liberty to communicate freely by post, telegraph, and wireless telegraphy, and to use telegraph codes under the conditions and subject to the regulations laid down in the International Telegraph Convention of St. Petersburg, 1875 (Lisbon Revision of 1908). . . .

Art. V. Either party may appoint one or more official agents to a number to be mutually agreed upon, to reside and exercise their functions in the territories of the other, who shall personally enjoy all the rights and immunities set forth in the preceding article and also immunity from arrest and search, provided that either party may refuse to admit any individual as an official agent who is *persona non grata* to itself or may require the other party to withdraw him should it find it necessary to do so on grounds of public interest or security. Such agents shall have access to the authorities of the country in which they reside for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of this agreement and of protecting the interests of their nationals.

Extracts from Parliamentary Debates

On May 4, 1925, Sir W. Davison asked the Prime Minister what "number of persons representing the Russian Soviet Government or any department of the same have special diplomatic privileges in this country; whether such privileges include the admission of correspondence and other literature in sealed bags; and whether he is satisfied that these privileges are not used for the issue of propaganda hostile in this country, as was found to be the case in Germany by the president of the State Court of Leipzig at a recent trial?"

The Prime Minister: "The answer to the first part of the question is four; and to the second part, in the affirmative. As regards the third part, His Majesty's Government have no reason to suppose that Soviet diplomatic bags are being used for propaganda purposes."

On June 23, 1926, in answer to a question by Commander Oliver Locker-Lampson, Mr. Locker-Lampson said that "the Soviet Trade Delegation is the only trade organization associated with the Soviet which is allowed to send and receive sealed bags; the weight of the bags is limited to five kilograms a week under the Trade Agreement and subsequent correspondence."

In reply to a further question, Mr. Locker-Lampson said that "*the chairman of the Soviet Trade Delegation appointed under the terms of the Anglo-Russian Trade Agreement of* 1921 *is the only commercial agent of the Soviet Government who enjoys diplomatic immunity in this country.*"

On July 1, 1926, Mr. Lansbury asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs "whether the head of the Russian Trade Delegation enjoys any diplomatic privilege or immunity or the privilege of receiving or sending letters in diplomatic bags, other than those enjoyed by commercial attachés, trade commissioners and commercial counselors representing the governments of the United States of America, France, Germany, and Italy, attached to embassies in this country."

The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr Godfrey Locker-Lampson, replied that "There is a difference in form, but it is not one of substance. All the officers named are accorded the ordinary diplomatic privileges and immunities, but except in the case of the Russian Trade Delegation, there is no special arrangement for a sealed bag."

Extract from Hansard, May 16, 1927:

"Mr. Thurtle asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he will state the nature of the diplomatic immunity enjoyed by the staff and premises of the Russian Trade Delegation?

"Mr. Lumley asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether the whole Trade Delegation of the Soviet Government in Great Britain enjoys diplomatic immunity or only the head of the delegation?

"Mr. Locker-Lampson: *Neither the Trade Delegation, its staff, or premises, nor the head of it as such, enjoys diplomatic immunity.* The head of the delegation is the official agent appointed under Article 5 of the trade agreement and the privileges he enjoys are those prescribed by Articles 4 and 5 of that agreement.

"Mr. Thurtle: May it not fairly be said that its official agent does in fact enjoy what is known as diplomatic immunity—the official agent himself?

"Mr. Locker-Lampson: No. I was referring to the official agent. There is only one and he is not on the diplomatic list at all and he does not enjoy diplomatic immunity."

Following is the statement of the Press Bureau of the Embassy of the USSR in Great Britain, published May 15:

(1) Immediately on being informed of the raid, at about 5 o'clock in the afternoon of May 12, the First Secretary of the Embassy, Mr. Bogomoloff, called at the premises of the Trade Delegation. On his way, he called on the director of the Northern Department of the Foreign Office, Mr. Palairet, who, however, expressed complete ignorance even of the fact that the raid was taking place. At about 7 o'clock of the same evening Mr. Bogomoloff rang up Sir Austen Chamberlain's private secretary requesting him at the instruction of Mr. Rosengolz, the Chargé d'Affaires ad interim of the USSR in Great Britain, to arrange an immediate interview between Mr. Rosengolz and Sir Austen. At the same time Mr. Bogomoloff explained that the question which Mr. Rosengolz desired to discuss with Sir Austen was the raid on the premises of the Trade Delegation and the violation of the 1921 Trade Agreement. The interview, however, was fixed only for 11:30 a. m. on May 13. Whereupon Mr. Bogomoloff requested that Sir Austen Chamberlain's private secretary should be so good as to arrange an interview for Mr. Rosengolz immediately with some responsible member of the staff of the Foreign Office, but when, ten minutes after the telephone conversation, he arrived there, he found neither Sir Austen Chamberlain's secretary nor any responsible member of the Foreign Office staff. Thus all the attempts made by Mr. Rosengolz to communicate with the Foreign Office during the evening of May 12 were without result.

Instructions Issued to Soviet Employees

Instruction No. 27: To the Trade Delegation of the USSR in Great Britain and Subordinate Organizations.

December 29, 1926

To All Departmental Managers.

You are asked to inform all employees under personal signature of notification of the following instruction issued by the

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Embassy and the Trade Delegation of the USSR in Great Britain on December 16, 1926.

Supplementary to previous instructions and orders, we once again categorically request that all employees, without exception, of the Embassy and Trade Delegation of the USSR in Great Britain refrain from any actions which might be interpreted as interference in the internal affairs of Great Britain. In particular, the English employees are requested to refrain from any political work within the limits of the territory of the Embassy and Trade Delegation. They are also forbidden to form any organizations in any way connected with political parties.

You are notified that in the event of any employee violating this instruction in any way he or she will be immediately dismissed.

This instruction is to be shown to every employee, who must attach his personal signature.

For the Plenipotentiary Representative of the USSR,
(A. ROSENGOLZ)
Trade Delegation (KHINCHUK)
Certified correct, O. SOROKIN

On March 2 a letter was received from Mr. Firsov, secretary of the Trade Delegation, that the above notice had been signed personally by all the employees of the delegation.

Extracts from the statement by the acting chairman of the Trade Delegation, Mr. J. Boieff, published in the Press, May 16, 1927:

. . . The officials of the cipher department were kept in a separate room under police guard and nobody, not even Mr. Boieff, was allowed to communicate with them, while from six to eight of the police were left alone in the cipher room and proceeded to ransack Mr. Khinchuk's safe.

The same procedure was adopted by the police against the secretary of the trade delegation, Mr. Firsov, who was ordered out of the room notwithstanding his protests and demands to be shown the search warrant. Some time afterward, Mr. Firsov was allowed to enter the corridor in which his room and eight other rooms of the Trade Delegation are situated, in order, evidently, to act as a kind of witness to the proceedings, although it was obviously quite impossible for Mr. Firsov to observe in any way what was going on at one and the same time in nine different rooms.

At the same time, Mr. Firsov saw in one of the rooms a Scotland Yard official at one of our typewriters typing something. Immediately on the arrival of Mr. Firsov he stopped typing and took out of the machine the note he had typed. . . .

Extract from the statement by Mr. S. I. Hermer, member of the council of the trade delegation.

I was not present at 49 Moorgate when the raids started, and arrived only about half past five, together with Mr. Boieff.

What struck me at the first moment—an impression strengthened by later observations—was the extremely aggressive and hostile attitude of the police. They seemed to be looking and waiting for trouble. Such attitude was in no way justified by the position of affairs in the building and the behavior of the employees. It was clear at the first glance that the employees were taken absolutely by surprise, the great majority of them probably never expecting a thing like that to happen in Great Britain. No resistance in any form was offered anywhere; there were no attempts to conceal or hide anything, or to destroy papers or documents. The only exception occurred in the cipher room, where the officials, as in duty bound, quite properly wanted to burn the code and decoded telegrams before admitting the police. As is evident from Mr. Boieff's statement, they failed in this attempt and succeeded only in burning a few telegrams which arrived and had been decoded that day. No other document or paper was burned, and this would have been

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EDITED BY HARI G. GOVIL

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impossible, as, except for the cipher room, there are no fireplaces in the whole of the building, which is heated by central heating. . . .

Extract from the sworn statement of Anton Miller, head of the cipher department.

. . . I asked for the acting chairman of the Trade Delegation or any other member of the Trade Delegation to be called in and also requested them to say who they were and what they wanted. I received no answer, but the three incomers gripped me forcibly. Two took me by the wrists and ran through my pockets, while the third tore out from the left pocket of my trousers the keys of the doors of the room and the safes. Others meanwhile ran through the pockets of Mr. Khudiakov and Miss Granovska, and Mrs. Miller was pushed out of the room. Then the man who had in his hands the keys which he had torn out of my pocket began to open the small safe in which are kept the cipher codes with which Mr. Khudiakov and I work. Khudiakov and I leaned heavily against the safe, defending it, and declared again that, without permission of the chairman of the Trade Delegation, the acting chairman, or a member of the Trade Delegation, we had no right to show them the codes. We were turned away from the safe by force and told not to resist, but as we continued the defense one of the men behind me struck me on the neck. I felt dazed and could not resist any more and cried out with pain. Several policemen ran into the room and held my wrists and one of them took hold of Khudiakov by his throat. Mr. Khudiakov received several blows and fell down on the floor unconscious. The policemen held me by the wrists and, gagging my mouth, proceeded to empty my pockets, working mostly behind my back. They told me they had taken certain things out of my pocket, but I had no means of ascertaining whether the things they mentioned had actually been taken out of my pockets or not. . . .

Mr. Khudiakov and I were pushed into room No. 6a, which adjoins room No. 5. There our boots were taken off, we were partly stripped and searched, and were left sitting there with no boots. We were not allowed to go home until about 1 o'clock in the morning.

The policemen were all armed and I saw that they each had something which looked like whips of a black color. One of them, when attacking Mr. Khudiakov, drew out a revolver. I cannot say with what kind of instrument the blow was administered to me—by one of these whips or by fists, as the blow was given from behind. . . .

Extract from the sworn statement of Sergey Khudiakov, clerk in the cipher department.

. . . I resisted, then one of the detectives called in more men and drew out a revolver. Four persons seized me and a fifth began to strike severe blows upon my head with some weapon. The men who held me twisted my wrists. Finally I fell, and was then placed upon the settee, beside me being stationed a policeman on guard, who held his baton over my head. After a few minutes they began to push us out of the room. Miller and I again offered resistance. Miller was taken out in front of me. I was still offering further resistance, but in spite of my bleeding and swollen face one of the detectives seized me by my hair, bent my body down, and forcibly squeezed my head between my legs. At the same time I received several blows on my back. In this way I was dragged out into the adjoining room, where my boots were taken off and policemen were put on guard. . . .

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